



FREEDOM OF INFORMATION AND PRIVACY ACTS

SUBJECT: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

FILE NUMBER: 100-4712

PART: 1 OF 19



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

FILE DESCRIPTION

BUREAU FILE

SUBJECT America First Committee

FILE NO. 100-4712

SECTION NO. 1

SERIALS 1

three

30

DEAR CONGRESSMAN:

I am convinced that we can preserve our American liberties only by keeping out of foreign war, in Europe or in Asia. Please do everything in your power to establish our foreign policy upon this sane basis.

(Signed) _____

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY AND STATE

I AM A PATRIOTIC AMERICAN CITIZEN, and agree wholeheartedly with the principles and policies of the America First Committee.

Please enroll me as a member of your organization.

I agree to discuss the activities of the Committee with my friends and to secure at least three new members.

(Signed) _____

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY AND STATE

**AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
CONTRIBUTION CARD**

I AM CONVINCED that we can preserve our American democracy only by keeping out of foreign war. Therefore I am contributing \$ _____ to support the work of the America First Committee.

Name _____

(PLEASE PRINT)

Address _____

ANY AMOUNT YOU WISH—DIMS OR DOLLARS—Make Checks payable to—

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE • 1806 Board of Trade Building • CHICAGO
(The work of the Committee depends entirely on voluntary contributions of time and money) 2

United States Department of Justice

Birmingham, Alabama
November 9, 1940

EPG:C

13309

Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Re: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
INTERNAL SECURITY

Dear Sir:

b7C
b7D
[redacted] informed me on November 4, 1940, that he was listening to a program broadcast at 8:30 P. M., on Sunday, November 3, 1940 over local station WAPI, which program was apparently sponsored by the American First Committee, with offices in the Board of Trade Building, Chicago.

[redacted] stated that this was an interview program which represented a person interviewing various individuals, representing a farmer in Minnesota, an automobile worker in Detroit, and a general worker in Los Angeles, etc. [redacted] stated that the questions asked on this program relative to the war and particularly with reference to our attitude toward Great Britain, and the answers given, indicated to him that it was a Nazi inspired program and he thought might be part of German propaganda in this country.

The above is submitted for the information of the Bureau in the event the Bureau desires the Chicago office to make any inquiry.

Very truly yours,

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/5/86 BY SP-6 JAT/hey

E. P. GUDANE
Special Agent in Charge

cc-Chicago

RECORDED & INDEXED

100-4712-1

b7c

[REDACTED]

133172

Special Agent in Charge
Chicago, Illinois

Re: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
INTERNAL SECURITY

Dear Sir:

Reference is made to the letter from the Chicago Field Division dated November 9, 1940, which reflects that the America First Committee has sponsored programs over the radio which possibly indicated they are a form of German propaganda.

Reference is also made to the letter from the Miami Field Division to the Bureau dated November 13, 1943 with which were transmitted three cards which respectively indicated the principles of the America First Committee and a card soliciting contributions for this organization. It is noted that the Miami Field Division is having an investigation conducted of this organization to ascertain its background and activities and that [REDACTED] is likewise being investigated by the Miami Field Division.

It is desired that the Chicago Field Division conduct appropriate investigation at Chicago, Illinois, which is reflected to be the national headquarters of the America First Committee, to determine the purpose, activities and officers of this organization.

The Chicago Field Division is designated as the office of origin in this case.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

cc - 12121

[illegible]

91

b7c

13398
Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
1300 Biscayne Building
Miami, Florida

November 13, 1940

Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

There is being transmitted herewith three cards, one marked "Post Card, House Office Building, Washington, D. C.", the second card marked "Principles of the America First Committee", and the third marked "America First Committee, Contribution Card."

This is the first time that this type of organization has come to the attention of the Miami Field Office and [REDACTED]

Very truly yours,

PERCY WYLY, II
Special Agent in Charge

FW:jbd
enclosures

100-4712-2
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
3 NOV 16 1940
U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE
[REDACTED]

b7c

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9/5/86 BY [signature]

Post Card

PLACE
ONE
CENT
STAMP
HERE

House Office Building,

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Principles of the **AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE**

The America First Committee is a non-partisan organization of loyal and patriotic American citizens who believe

1. The United States must build an impregnable national defense.
2. No foreign power nor group of powers can ever successfully invade a *prepared* America.
3. Our government's sending *more* of its own ships, planes and materials of war to a belligerent overseas, dangerously weakens our defense at home and threatens to involve America in war abroad.
4. Our American democratic liberties can only be preserved by *keeping out* of foreign war—in Europe or in Asia.

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

National Headquarters

1306 Board of Trade Bldg., Chicago, Illinois

GEN. ROBERT E. WOOD, *Acting Chairman* R. DOUGLAS STUART, JR., *National Director*

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

Gen. Robert E. Wood, *Acting Chairman*

★ ★ ★

Dr. A. J. Carlson
William R. Castle
Janet Ayer Fairbank
John T. Flynn
Henry Ford
Bishop Wilbur E. Hammaker
Gen. Thomas Hammond
Jay C. Hormel
Gen. Hugh S. Johnson

Clay Judson
Kathryn Lewis
Mrs. Alice Roosevelt Longworth
Hanford MacNider
Thomas N. McCarter
Ray McKaig
Sterling Morton
J. Sanford Otis
Dr. Albert W. Palmer

William H. Regnery
Edward Rickenbacker
Lessing J. Rosenwald
Edward L. Ryerson, Jr.
R. Douglas Stuart, Jr.
Louis Taber
Mrs. Burton K. Wheeler
Dr. George H. Whipple
Gen. Robert E. Wood

★ ★ ★

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER
DIRECTOR

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

December 16, 1940

13305

LEB:LCB

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. TOLSON

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. Clegg	✓
Mr. Glavin	✓
Mr. Ladd	✓
Mr. Nichols	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Tracy	✓
Mr. Carson	✓
Mr. Egan	✓
Mr. Gurnea	✓
Mr. Harbo	✓
Mr. Hendon	✓
Mr. Jones	✓
Mr. Mumford	✓
Mr. Quinn	✓
Mr. Nease	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

With reference to the item which appeared in Evelyn Peyton Gordon's column in the Washington Daily News on December 12th, stating that Ted Wingo would handle publicity for the American First Committee, I wish to advise that in a conversation with Mr. Wingo I mentioned that I had seen where he had taken on another job. He stated that was not correct, that he had been talking to Mrs. Gordon before the meeting and had told her that Bill Castle had asked him to attend the meeting and to assist in publicity. He stated that he did attend the meeting. However, he did not agree to take on publicity.

He stated that only recently one Sidney Herzberg has been appointed National Publicity Director for the America First Committee with offices in the Board of Trade Building in Chicago. Heretofore Herzberg has put out a mimeographed sheet "Uncensored" which has had rather wide distribution.

At the meeting referred to in Mrs. Gordon's column, Former Undersecretary of State Castle made the statement that if we go to war then everyone in attendance who is a member of America First Committee should forget about the movement, that they are not against giving aid to England but that they were in favor of maintaining a strict cash and carry policy, a strict policy of neutrality, building adequate defense and that they would not tolerate any Communists or Fascists in the group.

Respectfully,

RECORDED & INDEXED

L. B. Nichols

100-4712-3	
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION	
6 DEC 23 1940	
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE	
TOLSON	WATSON
NEASE	GLAVIN
ROSEN	TRACY
NICHOLS	CLEGG
MUMFORD	HENDON
JONES	QUINN
NEASE	GLAVIN
ROSEN	TRACY
NICHOLS	CLEGG
MUMFORD	HENDON
JONES	QUINN

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-15-86 BY SP-6 JAY

ENCL. 8
9 P. 10

85



Washington Society Leaders Organizing 'America First' Unit

By EVELYN PEYTON GORDON

"There is nothing so secure as a settled mind." That's what Genevieve Champ Clark Thomson, sister of Sen. Bennett Champ Clark, says, and that's about right. Genevieve was discussing the condition of the American mind today.

At least that's what her sister-in-law, Mrs. Bennett Clark, said yesterday when she spoke to more than a hundred people who had met at the home of former Undersecretary of State William R. Castle.



Those people, capitalists, labor union members, Democrats, Republicans, authors and one orchestra leader, were meeting to hear the story of "America First," an organization which started some time ago and which seems to be grow-

ing by leaps and bounds. It was from Mrs. Burton K. Wheeler, wife of Montana's Senator, that I first heard of "America First." That was last summer.

Since then, chapters of the movement have sprung up in many cities. And now the Capital has its own chapter. It is an organization to keep this country out of war.

"It's not 'anti' anything. It's not 'pro' anything, either, except American," said Mr. Castle as he opened the meeting in the oak-paneled library of his home. "We'll welcome any American as a member unless he is a Communist or Fascist and then he is not a real American. We're trying to keep out of this war and to build a big defense."

Among the people who went to hear what the organization is about were Anne Roosevelt Longworth, Mrs. Robert Knowlton, Mrs. Charles Lea, Mrs. Emil Hurja, Mrs. Dolly Gann—under the same roof with her one-time protocol-enemy, Alice Longworth; unity, I call it! Also Mrs. Thad Brown and Katrina McCormick Barnes, daughter of Ruth Hutton



Mrs. Burton Wheeler

R. Douglas Stuart Jr. of Chicago, national director of "America First," asked: Has America an inferiority complex? Have Americans confidence in America to withstand invasion? Or are we influenced by the propaganda. "If Germany eats Christmas dinner in England, Germany will sup in America on July Fourth."

Mrs. Bennett Clark senses "frayed and tattered feelings in Washington since the election." She believes that no matter what our personal disillusionments we should "look to our own destiny and keep our hearts and our minds here."

Mrs. Burton Wheeler, has accepted the job of treasurer of the local chapter. "And I'm glad to be able to do that. Naturalized citizens of this country are far more aware of their privilege than we native-born Americans are. I accept with pleasure the office and hope the work is hard."



There's an advisory committee for the Washington chapter of "America First" composed of Mr. Castle, Mrs. Clark, Mrs. Wheeler, Kathryn Lewis, daughter of John L. Lewis and Mrs. Longworth. No chairman has yet been named, but Mrs. Frank Sim-

onds has been chosen secretary; Mrs. Wheeler, treasurer. Mrs. Frank West, Pete Macias and Emil Hurja are on the membership committee. Katrina McCormick Barnes is on the finance committee with Clarence Hewss and Mrs. Emil Hurja. And for publicity there's Ted Wingo, Mrs. Edmund Pavensack, and Frank Hannigan.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/5/86 BY R6 bja/Hcy

Washington Daily News
12-12-110

100-4712-3

b7c

Cedarhurst, L. I.

December 10th 1940

Federal Bureau of Investigation,
Washington, D.C.

13303

Dear Sirs;

I would be very grateful if you would
tell me if you have investigated a Committee
formed in the Middle West I am told, called
"America First" in opposition to the William
Allen White Committee and if so is the org-
anization backed by Nazi money.

very truly yours,

b7c

RECORDED
&
INDEXED

100-4712-4

Act
12-20-40

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/5/86 BY SP6bjk/tcj

b7c

b7c

RECORDED 100-8109-1

December 20, 1940

13392

INDEXED

100-4712-4

b7c

Long Island, New York

b7c

Dear

I wish to acknowledge receipt of your letter dated December 10, 1940, and to thank you for your interest in writing to this Bureau.

With respect to your inquiry, I must advise that by virtue of a well-established policy of the Department of Justice all information contained in the files of the Federal Bureau of Investigation is of a confidential nature. Accordingly I am unable to comment upon or furnish any data concerning the organization to which you make reference.

I hope you will feel free in the future to bring to my attention any matters which you deem of interest to the FBI.

Sincerely yours,

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/5/86 BY SP6 bja/Hcy

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. Clegg _____
Mr. E. A. Tamm _____
Mr. Foxworth _____
Mr. Nathan _____
Mr. Ladd _____

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED
★ DEC 20 1940 ★
P. M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

91

1 39

b7c

b7c

100-4712-5

February 4, 1941

RECORDED

100-4712-5X

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. LAWRENCE M. C. SMITH,
CHIEF, NEUTRALITY LAWS UNIT

b7c

I wish to acknowledge receipt of your memorandum of January 17, 1941, attached to which was a memorandum pertaining to the America First Committee, and a photostatic copy of a letter from [REDACTED] to [REDACTED] dated September 3, 1940.

I appreciate your consideration in forwarding this material and am taking the privilege of retaining copies of the same for inclusion in the Bureau files. In compliance with your request, the originals which were forwarded by you are being returned herewith.

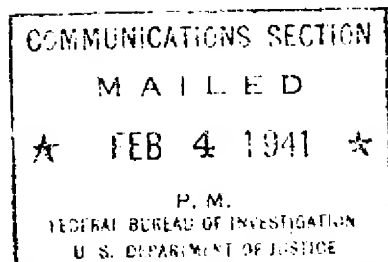
Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Attachment

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS
DATE 5/5/86 BY SP6bjt/ky

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. Clegg _____
Mr. E. A. Tamm _____
Mr. Foxworth _____
Mr. Nathan _____
Mr. Ladd _____
Mr. Egan _____
Mr. Glavin _____
Mr. Nichols _____
Mr. Hendon _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Tracy _____
Miss Gandy _____



b7c

ADDRESS REPLY TO
"THE ATTORNEY GENERAL"
AND REFER TO
INITIALS AND NUMBER

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

WASHINGTON, D. C.

December 19, 1940

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. HOOVER, DIRECTOR, FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Re: ⁰ America First Committee

For what it is worth, I pass on to you the statements made at a dinner last night in my presence by someone purporting to know to the effect that the funds for the "America First Committee" are coming in in large amounts from [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] b7c
also some indication that Henry Ford was also contributing.

L. A. C. Smith
Lawrence M. C. Smith
Chief, Neutrality Laws Unit

RECORDED & INDEXED

No enclosure
received 12/19/40
OK

10. 4712-
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
4 DEC 28 1940
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FIVE

ADDRESS REPLY TO
"THE ATTORNEY GENERAL"
AND REFER TO
INITIALS AND NUMBER

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

WASHINGTON, D. C.

January 17, 1941

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. HOOVER, DIRECTOR, FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

With reference to your memorandum of December 23, 1940 concerning the America First Committee, the source of my information was [REDACTED] I do not believe that the information warrants further investigation but have been sending you such matters as I hear about for your information.

I am also attaching two other memoranda, which I would like to have returned to me, in regard to the America First Committee, and a photostatic copy of a letter from [REDACTED] dated September 3, 1940, both of which were supplied to me by [REDACTED]

Lawrence A. Smith
Lawrence M. C. Smith
Chief, Neutrality Laws Unit

1 ENCL. PM

P 70

100-4712-5	
4	FEB 7 1941
IS DE	1941
FIVE	

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXX

**FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET**

12 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

- ☒ Deletions were made pursuant to the exemptions indicated below with no segregable material available for release to you.

Section 552Section 552a☐ (b)(1)☐ (b)(7)(A)☐ (d)(5)☐ (b)(2)☐ (b)(7)(B)☐ (j)(2)☐ (b)(3)☒ (b)(7)(C)☐ (k)(1)☒ (b)(7)(D)☐ (k)(2)☐ (b)(7)(E)☐ (k)(3)☐ (b)(7)(F)☐ (k)(4)☐ (b)(4)☐ (b)(8)☐ (k)(5)☐ (b)(5)☐ (b)(9)☐ (k)(6)☐ (b)(6)☐ (k)(7)

- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.
- ☐ Documents originated with another Government agency(ies). These documents were referred to that agency(ies) for review and direct response to you.

_____ Pages contain information furnished by another Government agency(ies). You will be advised by the FBI as to the releasability of this information following our consultation with the other agency(ies).

_____ Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s): _____

- ☐ For your information: _____

- ☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

100-4712-5x

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXX
 XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
 X DELETED PAGE(S) X
 X NO DUPLICATION FEE X
 X FOR THIS PAGE X
 XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

100-4712-5

December 23, 1940

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. L. M. C. SMITH,
CHIEF, NEUTRALITY LAWS UNIT

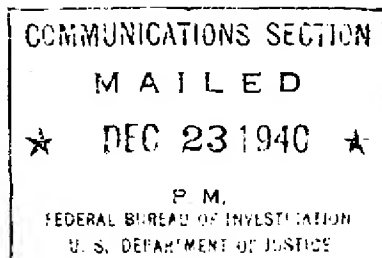
I have received your memorandum of December 19, 1940, concerning the America First Committee and would appreciate being advised what action you believe the Bureau should take with reference to this situation. It is noted that you failed to identify the source of your information. You may desire to give consideration to calling the source of your information before a grand jury in order that the statements made by him may be taken under oath. This would appear particularly desirable if you believe that some action should be taken upon this information.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover
 Director

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 5/5/86 BY SP6 bja/Hcy

Mr. Tolson _____
 Mr. Clegg _____
 Mr. E. A. Tamm _____
 Mr. Foxworth _____
 Mr. Glavin _____
 Mr. Ladd _____
 Mr. Nichols _____
 Mr. Rosen _____
 Mr. Tracy _____
 Miss Gandy _____



JOHN EDGAR HOOVER
DIRECTOR

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

JBO'L: BK

January 29, 1941

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. E. A. TAMM

Re: America First Committee

(b) The America First Committee has its national headquarters in Room 1806, Board of Trade Building, Chicago, Illinois, and according to the literature distributed by this group, General Robert E. Wood is the Acting Chairman and R. Douglas Stuart, Jr. is National Director.

The literature further reflects the following prominent members who are active in the affairs of the Committee:

Dr. A. J. Carlson
William R. Castle
Janet Ayer Fairbank
John T. Flynn
Henry Ford
Bishop Wilbur E. Hammaker
General Thomas Hammond
Jay C. Hornel
General Hugh S. Johnson
Clay Judson
Kathryn Lewis
Mrs. Alice Roosevelt Longworth
Hanford MacNider
Thomas N. McCarter
Ray McKaig
Sterling Morton
J. Sanford Otis
Dr. Albert W. Palmer
William H. Regnery
Edward Rickenbacker
Lessing J. Rosenwald
Edward L. Ryerson, Jr.
Louis Taber

COPIES DESTROYED

3-27-58

K67

#248,563

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 9/13/84 BY SP-6BJA/RBG

DATE 3/5/86 BY SP-6BJA/tey comp#

262119

2586467-25-86

SP-1 AG-JC

Info only

100-4712-6

Mrs. Burton K. ~~W~~Wheeler
Dr. George H. ~~W~~Whipple

The principles for which this group stands, as announced by the Committee in its literature are as follows:

1. The United States must build an impregnable national defense.
2. No foreign power nor group of powers can ever successfully invade a prepared America.
3. Our government's sending more of its own ships, planes and materials of war to a belligerent overseas, dangerously weakens our defense at home and threatens to involve America in war abroad.
4. Our American democratic liberties can only be preserved by keeping out of foreign war — in Europe or in Asia.

Lawrence M. C. Smith, Chief, Neutrality Laws Unit, furnished to the Bureau under date of January 17, 1941, a memorandum concerning the America First Committee which had been furnished to him by [REDACTED] containing the following information. b7c
b7d

Burton K
It was stated it is notable that in spite of the professions for strong national defense by the sponsors of the America First Committee, many of them were conspicuous for their activities against the selective draft and against aid to Britain. It is alleged that Mrs. Burton K. Wheeler was representing Senator ~~W~~Wheeler, and Miss Katherine Lewis, while representing her father, John L. ~~W~~Lewis, was also representing her own strongly fellow-traveler views.

It was stated that both Senator Wheeler and John L. Lewis had connecting ties with the pacifist radical monthly, "Equality". In the September number, which was aimed against preparedness and against the draft, there was an article on "Defend America First" by Senator Wheeler and an article by John L. Lewis against conscription.

In the same number, there was reportedly an article by [redacted] urging leaders to attend the Communist-inspired Peace Demonstration in Chicago, to be held September 1 and 2.

It was further alleged that [redacted] of the Women's International League for Peace and Democracy, reputed to be an able lobbyist, was a tie-in of the pacifist organization which she represented, with the America First Committee. She, together with Senator and Mrs. Wheeler, helped to line up General Wood with the America First Committee last summer.

[redacted] is reported to help finance and to work along with [redacted] on a mimeographed sheet called "Uncensored". It will be reflected hereafter that [redacted] has made various speeches, appearing on numerous programs for the America First Committee.

[redacted] was stated to be one of the most active workers and one of the best lobbyists for the America First Committee.

[redacted] has been in conference with [redacted] recently and is considered one of the moving persons in the America First Committee group.

Charles X It is further alleged that news venders of Father Coughlin's "Social Justice" in New York City now wear America First buttons, and when asked as to where the buttons might be secured, they refer the inquirer to the America First office in the Chicago Board of Trade, adding at the same time, that America First literature can also be secured there. They also recommend the last number of Scribners-Commentator.

The America First Committee is opposed to the William Allen White Committee and is beginning to snipe at well-to-do members of the various William Allen White Committees. They are not only going after those who might have some sympathy for their program, but also after some

of those who already are on record as having no sympathy with it whatever. They are not using a stereotyped appeal, but are addressing a personal letter couched in language which would aim to persuade even a mild anglophile to make them a contribution.

██████████ in a lecture at the Community Forum at Pittsburgh, held in the Schenley High School Auditorium on November 18, 1940, on the subject "Freedom in a World at War" viciously denounced the America First Committee as being composed of "Fascist elements".

██████████ is reported to have held meetings of the America First Committee in his home which, to all appearances, seems to serve as the offices for the Washington chapter of this group. ██████████ is also supposed to be contributing largely to the funds for this group. b7c

At a meeting held in ██████████ home in the latter part of December, 1940, Mrs. Frank Simonds was chosen as Secretary, Mrs. Burton K. Wheeler as Treasurer, Mrs. Frank West, Pete Macias and Bill Hurja as the Membership Committee, and Mrs. Bill Hurja, Clarence Hewss and Katrina McCormack Barnes constitute the Finance Committee.

Sidney Herzberg has been appointed National Publicity Director for the America First Committee. Heretofore, Herzberg has been connected with the mimeographed sheet "Uncensored" which had rather a wide distribution.

The January 23, 1941 issue of the Washington Times-Herald carried an article to the effect that Miss Jasmine Hoagland, Executive Vice-President of the "Roll Call of American Women" came to Washington from the organization's national headquarters in Chicago, to present to the Illinois Congressmen a book containing the names of the 11,000 members who protested the passage of the Lend-Lease Bill and America's entry into the European war. The article stated that the "Roll Call" was organized six months ago to express the opposition of women to America's entry into the war and last month (December, 1940) this group merged its membership

with the America First Committee.

The officers of the "Roll Call" are Miss Harriet E. Vittun, President, and Mrs. Margaret Ayer Barnes, Secretary-Treasurer, both of Chicago. Among the members of its National Council are Miss Jane Kagan, Mrs. Ben W. Swift and Mrs. Ora Snyder, also of Chicago.

The Times-Herald issue of January 23, 1941, also carried an article to the effect that according to Mrs. Bennett Champ Clark, Chairman of the Washington chapter of the America First Committee, this group would hold a mass meeting in the National Theater on Sunday (January 26). Speakers on the program were listed as John T. Flynn, columnist, lecturer and economist, Mrs. Robert A. Taft, wife of the Ohio Senator, and former Governor Phillip LaFollette of Wisconsin.

The New York Times issue of January 28, 1941, contained an article to the effect that advertisements appearing in the morning newspapers announced the formation of a New York chapter of the America First Committee, headed by General Robert E. Wood. The advertisements called for opposition to the Lend-Lease Bill, calling it a "war dictatorship" measure.

Among members of the New York chapter listed were Edwin S. Webster, Jr., senior member of the Wall Street firm of Kidder, Peabody and Company, Colonel Theodore Roosevelt, Dorothy Dunbar Bromley, John T. Flynn, Archibald F. Roosevelt and Amos E. R. Pinchot.

Respectfully submitted,

J. B. O'Leary

J. B. O'Leary

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER
DIRECTOR

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

JKW:GEG

January 16, 1941

3:00 P.M.

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. E. A. Tamm

Mr. Tolson.....
Mr. Clegg.....
Mr. E. A. Tamm.....
Mr. Foxworth.....
Mr. Nathan.....
Mr. Ladd.....
Mr. Egan.....
Mr. Glavin.....
Mr. Nichols.....
Mr. Rosen.....
Mr. Tracy.....
Miss Gandy.....

① b7c
A telephone call was referred to me from the Director's office from [redacted] who identified herself as being with the America First Committee. She advised that a [redacted] who claimed to be with the American Civic Alliance had called at the America First Committee's headquarters offering his cooperation. [redacted] requested that she be furnished any information available in the Bureau relative to [redacted] or the American Civic Alliance. She stated she had already checked the Better Business Bureau and credit agencies with negative results.

[redacted] was politely informed of the Bureau's restriction in furnishing information from its files. She stated she had not known of this restriction and apparently was entirely satisfied with the explanation.

Respectfully,

J. K. Mumford
J. K. Mumford

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

DATE 5/5/86 BY SP6bjt/ky

RECORDED
&
INDEXED

100-4712-7

1

RECEIVED

*FISTO
LA 8-10-77
Do declassification
C32*

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Los Angeles, California
February 8, 1941

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. E. A. Tamm	
Mr. Clegg	
Mr. Glavin	
Mr. Ladd	
Mr. Nichols	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Tracy	
Miss Gandy	

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

b7c Re:

Internal Security

PKC
Dear Sir:

I thought you might be interested in the enclosed newspaper clippings taken from the February 6, 1941 issue of the "Los Angeles Herald Express" regarding the statements of JOHN L. WHEELER, Chairman of the America First Committee of Los Angeles, who is the son of United States Senator BURTON K. WHEELER of Montana, leading opponent of President ROOSEVELT'S Lend Lease Bill.

b7c
[REDACTED]

*b2
b7D
b7c*
[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

100-4712-7X

4 1941

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10/1/81 BY 1047/UC

TOLSON
TAMM
NICHOLS
FIVE

Letter to the Director

- 2 -

February 8, 1941

Re: [REDACTED]

Internal Security

b7C

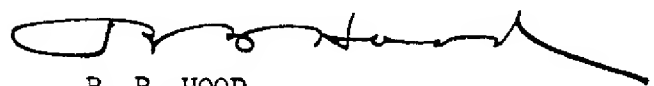
b7C

The second enclosed clipping gives a statement by REGINALD DENNY, film actor, concerning the erroneous announcement that he would be master of ceremonies at a mass meeting sponsored by the America First Committee, which is to be held Monday night, February 10, and at which Senator RUSH HOLT of West Virginia will be the principal speaker. In this connection, Special Agent [REDACTED] of this office was interviewing [REDACTED] on February 12, 1941, in connection with other official business, and she advised that on that date REGINALD DENNY had told her of just discovering that the America First Committee was anti-British and that he had been "sucked in" to be master of ceremonies. [REDACTED] stated that she encouraged DENNY to go ahead and appear at the mass meeting and then from the platform denounce the America First Committee.

Unless advised, no investigation will be conducted by this office concerning the activities of [REDACTED]

b7C

Very truly yours,



R. B. HOOD
Special Agent in Charge

b7C

Enc. 2

2-6-41
**Error About
Actor Denny
Corrected**

The erroneous announcement that Reginald Denny, film actor, would be master of ceremonies at a mass meeting sponsored by the America First Committee next Monday night at Philharmonic Auditorium was made "inadvertently."

This was announced today by Attorney John Wheeler, chairman of the America First Committee branch here and son of United States Senator Burton K. Wheeler.

"However," John Wheeler added, "Mr. Denny is misinformed as to the nature of the America First Committee and its purpose when he says it 'feels that Britain should be left at the mercy of the totalitarian states.'"

"The America First Committee stands for the creation of an impregnable defense for the United States. It is against the weakening of these defenses in any way. It is not against aid to Britain so long as the aid is within the limits of existing laws. The organization is against the lend-lease bill because it would impair the defenses of the United States and create a dictatorship in this country."

Senator Rush Holt of West Virginia will be principal speaker at the Monday night meeting.

"LOS ANGELES HERALD EXPRESS"

February 6, 1941

Los Angeles Field Division

100-4712-7X

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/5/86 BY SP-6 BJA/Kay

Dem. Club Told 'It's Not for Defense'

John Wheeler Flays FDR Lease, Lend Bill

President Roosevelt's lend-lease bill is "not for the defense of the United States," it was declared today by John L. Wheeler, chairman of the America First Committee of Los Angeles and son of United States Senator Burton K. Wheeler of Montana, leading opponent of the bill.

At least no clear statement has been advanced to the people why this bill should be enacted, said Wheeler in a talk before the Democratic Luncheon Club.

"No answer has been given to the question as to what we could do to aid Britain short of war under this bill that we cannot do under existing law," he said.

COULD HELP RUSSIA

Wheeler pointed out that the bill gives power to the President to transfer to any government any defense articles by sale, lending, lease or gift, which he may see fit.

"The transfer might be to Rus-

sia or Abyssinia or any other country," the speaker said.

"Let us look at America first and at our own problems," Wheeler said. "Let us not be the financial resource of any other country."

REPLIES TO WHEELER

A reply to Wheeler was made by Maurice Saeta, who managed the presidential primary campaign for President Roosevelt in Los Angeles last year.

Saeta declared he believed the bill to be "absolutely necessary."

"I grant you that it is very broad and comprehensive, but so is the emergency we are confronting," he said. He added it was necessary to select someone to make decisions in present crisis and asked "Is there anyone more logical to give this power to than to the President, the commander-in-chief of our Army and Navy under the Constitution."

"LOS ANGELES HERALD EXPRESS"

February 6, 1941

Los Angeles Field Division

RECEIVED FEBRUARY 10 1941

5/5/86 SP6 bjk/hay

b7c

February 26, 1941

RECORDED & INDEXED

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
BY SPECIAL MESSENGER

100-4712-7X

Major General Edwin M. Watson
Secretary to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear General Watson:

As of possible interest to the President and
you, I am furnishing information pertaining to the
activities of [redacted] of the America
First Committee of Los Angeles, California.

b7c

With assurances of my highest regards,

Sincerely yours,

Enclosure

RECEIVED BY SP-6 byatley
ON 5/3/76

- Mr. Tolson _____
- Mr. Clegg _____
- Mr. E. A. Tamm _____
- Mr. Foxworth _____
- Mr. Nathan _____
- Mr. Ladd _____
- Mr. Egan _____
- Mr. Glavin _____
- Mr. Nichols _____
- Mr. Hendon _____
- Mr. Rosen _____
- Mr. Tracy _____
- Miss Gandy _____

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED
★ FEB 27 1941 ★
P. M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

RECEIVED BY R. W. Steele
ON 3-8-76

Act. [signature]

b7

b7c
February 26, 1941

b7c
b7D
MEMORANDUM

[REDACTED]

A newspaper clipping which appeared in the Los Angeles Herald Express on February 6, 1941, indicates that Mr. Reginald Fenny, film actor, who had been previously advertised as the master of ceremonies at a mass meeting to be sponsored by the America First Committee, would not in fact attend this meeting. It will be noted that Senator Bush Holt, of West Virginia, was advertised as being the principal speaker at this meeting. In this connection, Miss [REDACTED] advised an Agent of this Bureau that Mr. Fenny stated he had refused the offer to appear at the contemplated meeting upon discovering the America First Committee was anti-British.

LEB SS C 37 6H 311

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. Clegg _____
Mr. E. A. Tamm *bx* _____
Mr. Foxworth _____
Mr. Nathan _____
Mr. Ladd _____
Mr. Egan _____
Mr. Glavin _____
Mr. Nichols _____
Mr. Hendon _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Tracy _____
Miss Gandy _____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/6/86 BY SP6 bja/ky

100-4772-7X

b7c
[REDACTED]

b7c [redacted]

February 27, 1941

100-4712-7X

RECORDED & INDEXED

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED~~
BY SPECIAL MESSENGER

Honorable Adolf A. Berle, Jr.
Assistant Secretary of State
Department of State
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Berle:

As of possible interest to you, I am furnishing information pertaining to the activities of [redacted] of the America First Committee of Los Angeles, California.

Sincerely yours,

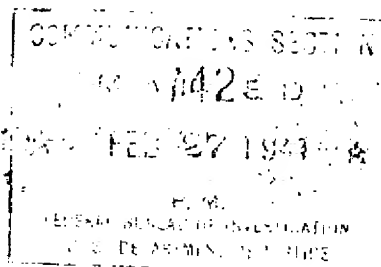
1 Enclosure
Jam

SP-6 bja/tcy
5/5/86

COPIES DESTROYED

5 AUG 17 1973

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. Clegg _____
Mr. E. A. Tamm _____
Mr. Foxworth _____
Mr. Nathan _____
Mr. Ladd _____
Mr. Egan _____
Mr. Glavin _____
Mr. Nichols _____
Mr. Hendon _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Tracy _____
Miss Gandy _____



ex b7c
[redacted]

b7c

100-4712-7X

February 27, 1941

RECORDED & INDEXED

~~PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ASSISTANT TO THE ATTORNEY GENERAL
MR. MATTHEW F. McGUIRE

As of possible interest to you, I am furnishing information pertaining to the activities of [REDACTED] of the America First Committee of Los Angeles, California.

This information has been furnished to the Attorney General also.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Enclosure

DECLASSIFIED BY P. G. Gaffney
ON 5/5/86

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED
★ FEB 27 1941 ★
P. M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

b7c

cut

[REDACTED]

ADDRESS REPLY TO
"THE ATTORNEY GENERAL"
AND REFER TO
INITIALS AND NUMBER

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
WASHINGTON, D. C.

WB:JIM:EM

146-2

February 13, 1941.

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. E. A. Tamm _____
Mr. Clegg _____
Mr. Foxworth _____
Mr. Nathan _____
Mr. Ladd _____
Mr. Glavin _____
Mr. Nichols _____
Mr. Hendon _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Tracy _____
Miss Gandy _____

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. J. EDGAR HOOVER, DIRECTOR,
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

There is transmitted herewith for your information
a copy of a communication dated January 23, 1941, addressed
to [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] concerning the presence
of the automobile registered in the name of [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] in the vicinity of the building in which The
America First Committee opened an office on January 16, 1941.

Respectfully,

Wendell Berge

WENDELL BERGE,
Acting Assistant Attorney General.

Inclosure
No. 296697

RECORDED
&
INDEXED

100-4712-8
FEDERAL B.

1/24/41

EX

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA

FEBRUARY 11, 1941

100-0

DIRECTOR
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
WASHINGTON, D. C.

RE: AMERICA FIRST, INC.
INTERNAL SECURITY - G

DEAR SIR:

ON FEBRUARY 3, 1941.

INFORMED SPECIAL AGENT [REDACTED] THAT HE HAD ATTENDED A GROUP MEETING OF VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS AT VINCENNES, INDIANA, ON THE EVENING OF FEBRUARY 1, 1941. A SPEAKER BEFORE THE GROUP WAS ONE MCCARTHY, FIRST NAME UNKNOWN, BUT WELL KNOWN IN CINCINNATI AND CONNECTED WITH THE VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS AT NORWOOD, OHIO. MCCARTHY IS SAID TO SPEAK OCCASIONALLY ON RADIO PROGRAMS IN THE GIBSON HOTEL, CINCINNATI.

DURING HIS TALK, MCCARTHY STRESSED THE POINT THAT THE UNITED STATES SHOULD DO ABSOLUTELY NOTHING TO ASSIST GREAT BRITAIN IN HER PRESENT STRUGGLE AGAINST THE AXIS POWERS, HE CONDEMNED THE BRITISH FOR THEIR ATTITUDE IN THE PAST TOWARD THE UNITED STATES AND DURING THE COURSE OF HIS TALK HE MENTIONED IN SOMEWHAT COMPLIMENTARY TERMS THE ORGANIZATION, AMERICA FIRST, INC. HE DID NOT ATTACK THE UNITED STATES IN ANY WAY AND DID NOT ESPECIALLY MAKE ANY PRO-NAZI UTTERANCES BUT AS INDICATED ABOVE HIS TALK WAS PARTICULARLY ANTI-BRITISH. HE LEFT THE IMPRESSION THAT HE PARTICULARLY FAVORED SUCH AN ORGANIZATION AS AMERICA FIRST, INC., ALTHOUGH HE DID NOT DEFINITELY STATE THAT HE WAS IN ANY WAY CONNECTED WITH THAT ORGANIZATION. THE ONLY INFORMATION CONTAINED IN THE FILES OF THE INDIANAPOLIS FIELD DIVISION CONCERNING AMERICA FIRST, INC. IS CONTAINED IN A MEMORANDUM ON SUBVERSIVE ORGANIZATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES SENT OUT TO THE VARIOUS FIELD DIVISIONS AND THE BUREAU BY THE CHICAGO FIELD DIVISION BY LETTER DATED NOVEMBER 27, 1939. A COPY OF THIS LETTER IS FURNISHED THE CINCINNATI OFFICE FOR ITS INFORMATION AND ASSISTANCE SHOULD THE BUREAU DESIRE FURTHER INQUIRIES MADE WITH REFERENCE TO THE IDENTITY AND ACTIVITIES OF SPEAKER MCCARTHY.

VERY TRULY YOURS,

E. J. LYNN
SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

CC CINCINNATI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/6/86 BY SP6 BJA/KY

FEB 18 11
RECORDED
LIFE DIVISION

100-4712-9

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

12627

No. 1
CASE ORIGINATED AT

CHICAGO, ILL.

FILE NO.

100-668

REPORT MADE AT Chicago, Illinois	DATE WHEN MADE 2/7/41	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE 12/13, 14, 17/40 12/18, 19, 20, 23/40	REPORT MADE BY [REDACTED] b7c [REDACTED]
TITLE 0 AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE			CHARACTER OF CASE INTERNAL SECURITY (C)

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

America First Committee is set up in opposition to William Allen White Committee. It believes in - (1) impregnable defense for the United States; (2) that United States should not become involved in the European war; (3) enforcement of Johnson Act and Neutrality Act. They are disseminating literature supporting these principals. General ROBERT E. WOOD, Chairman, Board of Directors, Sears Roebuck & Company, is acting chairman, and other officers are mostly nationally known persons who are deemed patriotic. Citizens Keep America Out of War Committee was formed by AVERY BRUNDAGE, who was formerly with America First Committee. This latter committee follows same principals as America First Committee except they are believed by some to be anti-semitic in views. Both committees favor aid to Great Britain and have denounced Communism, Nazism, and Fascism.

COPIES DESTROYED

3-27-58
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C.

REFERENCE:

Bureau letter dated December 6, 1940.

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: [Signature]	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES
COPIES OF THIS REPORT		<p style="font-size: 2em;">100-4712-110</p> <p style="font-size: 1.5em;">FEB 13 1941</p>
5 Bureau - Enc. 2 Atlanta - Enc. 2 Birmingham - Enc. 2 Miami - Enc. 3 Chicago		

12628

DETAILS:

AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

The following are the principals and objectives of the America First Committee as taken from their literature.

b7c [REDACTED] of the Solicitation Division, Chicago Better Business Bureau, furnished the following information taken from one of his reports concerning the America First Committee located in room 1806, Board of Trade Building, Chicago, Illinois.

"This is in response to your recent inquiry. The America First Committee was incorporated under the Not For Profit laws of the State of Illinois on September 19, 1940. The purposes as outlined in its charter are to encourage and maintain in the United States of America (1) peace and the democratic ideal; (2) a program of adequate defense; and (3) in furtherance of peace on this continent, a policy of non-intervention in the affairs of other continents; and to encourage the giving of help to refugees and the needy in other lands insofar as such help does not endanger the maintenance of peace in the United States.

We are advised that the organization employs no paid solicitors and is financed solely by voluntary contributions by those who desire to support its ideas. The officers are: ROBERT E. WOOD, Acting Chairman; R. DOUGLAS STUART, Secretary and Director in active charge of the Committee's work; and J. SANFORD OTIS, Treasurer."

b7c [REDACTED] stated that in his opinion all of the persons connected with the America First Committee are nationally known persons who are considered to be patriotic Americans.

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b7D [REDACTED] produced their file concerning the America First Committee, which contained the following information:

On October 21, 1940 BOBBY CARTER was sponsored in a transcription program over station WMAQ by the America First Committee. In this broadcast CARTER explained that the committee was dedicated to aid America first and later to aid Britain. Following the transcription the announcer suggested that the listeners write their congressmen and senators demanding they

prevent the United States intervention into the war and that they arm America before aiding Britain, and also requesting that they recommend sending in anything from dimes to dollars to the America First Committee, Board of Trade Building, Chicago.

In a report in this same file dated November 22, 1940, it was indicated that COLONEL LINDBURGH and AVERY BRUNDAGE, who formerly were with the America First Committee, were no longer with that organization.

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[REDACTED] stated that he believes the persons in back of the America First Committee were entirely patriotic and that the committee was set up in opposition to the propaganda being disseminated by the William Allen White Committee. He stated that at the time this organization started COLONEL LINDBURGH was very close to COLONEL McCORMICK of the Chicago Tribune and through this relationship the Chicago Tribune has backed the America First Committee. On October 31, 1940 the America First Committee had a full page ad entitled "Peace or War" in the Chicago Tribune.

[REDACTED] stated also that [REDACTED] has been attempting to convince COLONEL McCORMICK that the Communistic element in the United States is a much more serious problem than anyone realizes, and in this connection it is the belief of [REDACTED] that [REDACTED] is of the opinion that all Jews are Communists and all Communists are Jews. He stated that [REDACTED] has considerable influence with COLONEL McCORMICK and that apparently many of his policies have apparently been adopted by the America First Committee. [REDACTED] stated that in his belief the America First Committee is not involved in any subversive activities whatsoever.

[REDACTED] stated that in his opinion the America First Committee is entirely patriotic but that some of the members are what he terms "reactionaries". He believes, however, that all of the persons backing this organization are sincere in their beliefs that the foreign policy of the administration is leading us to war and they desire to prevent this country from getting involved in war. [REDACTED] stated the committee

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b7D

has apparently a very tremendous source of income, and although as yet they have no association with any known subversive organization, there is the danger of such an association because of their standing - keeping America out of war which is a common ground for most subversive groups. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] advised that the America First Committee was started by GENERAL WOOD, in cooperation with the other members of the committee, and that although the committee's viewpoints in connection with the United States' present policy in foreign affairs is different from that of the administration, he is of the opinion that the committee originally had a few persons in charge who were what he terms "left wingers", and, according to him, are not to be considered Communistic. He stated that one of these persons was [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] and is what [REDACTED] terms a known "pink". [REDACTED] stated that because of these few persons which were connected with the America First Committee, a disagreement resulted and WILLIAM J. GRACE, AVERY BRUNDAGE and W. H. REGNERY left the America First Committee to form the "Citizens Keep America Out of War Committee" located at 77 West Washington Street, Chicago, because they were against any sort of liberalism expressed by some members of the America First Committee which they determined to be "pink" in its nature.

[REDACTED] stated it is his belief the split was caused to a great extent by a clash of personalities; that he believes both organizations are entirely patriotic; that they have each denounced Communism, Nazism and Fascism on numerous occasions. He stated he is positive there has been no infiltration into either of these organizations by any subversive groups, although such a danger exists because both organizations are favoring the non-intervention into the European war, which is a common ground for all subversive groups. It is [REDACTED] opinion that both organizations are attempting to carry out the principals as set out in the literature published by them.

[REDACTED] stated that the "Citizens Keep America Out of War Committee" is not anti-semitic and that they are not drawing any sort of a line between themselves and the Jews although they do not want any Jews in control of their organization. [REDACTED] further stated both organizations were actively conducting mass meetings to publicize their principals; that he

has kept close watch of these meetings and has not observed anything which he determined could be called un-American. Both of these organizations have the backing of all Chicago newspapers and they have received considerable publicity in connection with all of their meetings.

On December 18, 1940 the America First Committee sponsored a rally in Orchestra Hall, at which rally 3500 persons attended and several thousands were turned away. JOHN T. FLYNN, author and economist, was the principal speaker and spoke against what he termed a conspiracy to involve the United States in the war.

On December 20, 1940 the Citizens Keep America Out of War Committee sponsored a rally at the Auditorium Theatre, at which rally RUSH D. HOLT, U. S. Senator from Virginia, was the principal speaker. Senator HOLT assailed the movement which he stated was attempting to involve the United States in war, and further talked in support of the principals of the Citizens Keep America Out of War Committee.

These rallies above referred to were both given a tremendous amount of publicity in the Chicago newspapers, receiving front page space with large headlines.

In connection with the Citizens Keep America Out of War Committee, a copy of a report made by [REDACTED] who has been the subject of numerous reports to the Non-Sectarian League for Americanism, reflected that [REDACTED] had a conversation with [REDACTED] of the Citizens Keep America Out of War Committee, the result being that [REDACTED] stated that the committee is very anti-Jewish. This information, however, does not carry a great deal of weight inasmuch as numerous other reports made by [REDACTED] have been found to be incorrect,

The following is a list of the officers and directors of the America First Committee, with a brief summary as to their background:

Acting Chairman - GENERAL ROBERT E. WOOD,
925 S. Homan Avenue, Chicago.
Graduate of West Point and served many years
as officer in the U. S. Army. He is presently
Chairman of the Board of Directors of Sears
Roeback and Company.

National Director and Secretary - R. DOUGLAS STUART, JR.
141 W. Jackson Blvd., Chicago, Illinois.

He is a graduate of Yale University and studied three years in the Yale Law School before terminating his study to become associated with the America First Committee. He is the son of R. DOUGLAS STUART of the Quaker Oats Company.

Treasurer - J. SANFORD OTIS, Vice-President of the Central Republic Bank of Chicago.

Board of Directors - HANFORD MAC NIDER, Mason City, Ia. Presently a banker; former National Commander of the American Legion; former Assistant Secretary of War - 1925 - 1928; served with the United States forces in France during the World War and was promoted to LT. COLONEL on May 6, 1919. Received Croix de Guerre - five citations. Also connected with various Civic organizations.

GENERAL THOMAS HALMOND, retired U. S. Army officer; president of Whiting Corporation, manufacturers of cranes and foundry equipment, Harvey, Illinois; served with U. S. forces in World War; chairman of Republican Party in Illinois.

J. C. HORMEL, formerly with George A. Hormel & Company, packers, Austin, Minnesota.

CLAY JUDSON, attorney, 120 W. Adams Street, Chicago. Associated with the law firm of Wilson and McIlvaine; former president of Chicago Council of Foreign Relationships; member of Board of Trustees of United Charities, Chicago, and president of Board of Trustees Francis Parker School, Chicago, which is a well-known private school.

In addition to the above officers, the following are members of the America First National Committee:

DR. ANTON JULIUS CARLSON, Professor, University of Chicago.

67c [REDACTED] stated that DR. CARLSON is a member of the Civil Liberties Union; that he has been to Moscow, U.S.S.R. to study and that he was

b7c

one of the salesmen to the United States for the recognition of Russia. [REDACTED] stated in his opinion DR. CARLSON is probably a loyal American but that he is slightly "pink". He further stated that DR. CARLSON is an international pacifist, which is probably the only reason DR. CARLSON is associated with this committee. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] advised that in his opinion DR. CARLSON is the only member connected with the America First Committee that could be considered un-American in his views, as he is what is termed an "extremely liberal in his views". DR. CARLSON was a Lieutenant Colonel in the Sanitary Corps in October, 1917 and was with the A.E.F. from March to September, 1919.

WILLIAM R. CASTLE, JR., former Assistant Secretary of State; former Ambassador to Japan.

IRVIN S. COBB - nationally known speaker and author.

JANET AYER FAIRBANKS - active in cause of women suffrage and politics; former member of the executive committee of the Democratic National Committee; was a member of the Women's National Liberty Loan Committee during the World War; has written several books.

JOHN T. FLYNN - noted economist and writer - wrote "Country Squire in the White House".

HENRY FORD - automobile manufacturer.

GENERAL HUGH S. JOHNSON - nationally known retired Army officer.

ALICE ROOSEVELT LONGWORTH - nationally known political woman.

THOMAS N. McCARTER, Attorney General of New Jersey 1902 to 1907, which post he resigned to become president of the Public Service Corporation of New Jersey, which operates and controls nearly all of the gas,

electric and transportation utilities in New Jersey. Director of Chase National Bank, New York City; Federal Union Trust Company, Newark, N.J.; American Surety Company; American Super Power Corporation and United Gas Improvement Company.

CAPTAIN EDWARD RICKENBACKER - nationally known Austrian figure.

LOUIS J. TABER - nationally known for his work in connection with agricultural developments.

DR. GEORGE H. WHIPPLE - nationally known pathologist.

The following persons who are nationally known are also members of this Committee:

MRS. BENNETT CHAMP CLARK

BISHOP W. E. HANMAKER

KATHRYN LEWIS

STERLING MORTON

EDWARD L. RYERSON, JR.

MRS. BURTON K. WHEELER

The information concerning the above persons was obtained from Who's Who in Chicago, 1931 edition, and Who's Who in America, 1931 edition. For the information of the Bureau and all offices receiving copies of this report, copies of the literature being disseminated by these organizations are being submitted with this report.

ENCLOSURES TO THE BUREAU

- A. - 5 copies application for membership to Citizens Keep America Out of War Committee.
- B. - 2 copies collections of cartoons of America First Committee.

C. - 5 stickers - America First Committee.

D. - 4 copies contribution card - America First Committee.

E. - 2 copies "Is This Our War" - America First Committee.

F. - 2 copies "Our Foreign Policy" - America First Committee.

G. - 2 copies "Here is the Road to War" - America First Committee.

H. 5 copies lists of Senators and Congressmen - America First Committee.

TO ATLANTA, BIRMINGHAM and MIAMI - the following number of copies.

A. - 2

B. - 1

C. - 2

D. - 1

E. - 1

F. - 1

G. - 1

H. - 2

C L O S E D



To enter the wars now
raging in Europe, Asia and Africa
would be an act of national folly
from which our country must be
spared!



AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

1806 Board of Trade Building
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/6/86 BY P. G. H. H. H.

100-4712-10

A PLATFORM TO WHICH EVERY AMERICAN CAN SUBSCRIBE

This collection of cartoons by Mr. John T. McCutcheon, Pulitzer Prize Cartoonist, was originally published in the Chicago Tribune and is here reproduced by special permission. All rights are reserved by the Chicago Tribune.



COPYRIGHT 1939 BY THE CHICAGO TRIBUNE

—MCCUTCHEON—

The America First Committee was formed by a group of citizens gravely concerned over our country's alarming drift toward war.

Every member shares the firm conviction that the preservation of American liberties and the future of democracy itself depend on keeping out of foreign wars.

NOTE: The principles of the America First Committee heartily approve all possible aid to Britain permitted under the provisions of the Neutrality Act, but we oppose aid beyond the limits of that Act, sometimes mis-called "aid short of war".

RECEIVED
JAN 12 1940
U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE
8A

HOW TO TELL THE PROPAGANDA



If it makes you so mad you want to get into the war at once—



—just remember that's the very kind of stuff the clever propagandist is trying to send out.

In these critical weeks, the Interventionists lead us step by step closer to actual warfare—with its disastrous consequences, sure to affect the lives of every living American.

Now is the time when every citizen faces a tremendous responsibility to THINK STRAIGHT in a world gone mad with war—to MAKE THE WISE DECISION in a whirlwind of propaganda such as never before has confused the thinking of a neutral nation.

THE UNDERTOW WILL DO THE REST



The grim choice between Peace or War should be fairly and honestly placed before the people.

Instead the Internationalists have deliberately confused the issue with that flexible phrase "aid short of war."

The America First Committee gladly extends to Britain the tremendous facilities of our private production under the provisions of our Neutrality Act.

But we oppose shipment in American merchant vessels convoyed by American warships. This would not be aid short of war. It would be WAR!



British speakers are allowed to come here and fill us with their brand of 100 per cent British propaganda—
"Ladies and gentlemen—or may I say, fellow Anglo-Saxons! Civilization is facing its greatest test! Democracy stands at the barricades, breasts bared to defend all those nations which, like us, love peace and justice. We know your sympathies are with us and that you will cheer us on as we fight for the safety of your homes!"



Supposing American speakers from West of Long Island went over and tried to give the British some of our American brand of propaganda—

"Gentlemen—I note with interest that you always say civilization is in danger whenever you get into a war. That is not strictly accurate. As long as America keeps its senses and stays out of your European war there will be a fair amount of civilization left—but not the kind we fought to save in the last big European war. We Americans remember that rescue very well. We remember the shocking ingratitude, the sickening disillusionments, not to mention other things, that the saving of civilization brought. We are keeping out of this war as the best way of saving our kind of civilization."

The leaders of the United States are trustees for the future of over 130,000,000 Americans. They must be realists, unswayed by our admiration and friendship for Britain or our hatred of Totalitarianism.

They must realize that the basic American democratic liberties, which the Interventionists tell us are at stake, would be instantly suspended and permanently threatened if we go to war.

The hope of Democracy throughout the world lies in a PEACEFUL America, strong and unafraid.



"IT'S INEVITABLE THIS COUNTRY WILL BE DRAWN IN IF THERE'S A EUROPEAN WAR!"

—BUT SUPPOSING 85 PERCENT OF US DON'T INTEND TO BE DRAWN IN—

—For war wishers to pave the way for—



—American entanglement in future wars.

The Interventionists have carefully built up the mistaken belief that our entry into the war is inevitable—that if we must fight sooner or later, we might as well fight now.

This is clever propaganda—but it is ridiculous when subjected to the light of reason.

If we enter this war, it will be because we CHOOSE to enter. No nation and no group of nations can ever successfully attack a PREPARED America. And they realize that fact!

THE BIG PARADE



Copyright, 1932, by The Chicago Tribune. McUTCHEN

The America First Committee believes that if we enter the war we will eventually win. But we will face the most difficult military problem in all history in attacking and conquering the forces of Germany and her allies on their own front.

The costs and consequences will be disastrous—human, social and material. There can be no true victors in such a war. The victors, as always, will be Death, Debt and Depression.

THE HIGH COST OF FOREIGN ENTANGLEMENTS



The last time we went to war for the ideals of democracy we got off lightly. But war settles nothing.

The spawn of that war was Communism, Nazism and Fascism. No less than eight distinct wars have arisen in Europe during the past twenty years to resettle the same eternal quarrels.

American costs of the last war now add up to one-quarter of our national debt. So that every one of us who pays Federal taxes—direct or indirect—is still paying for the last war.

THE WAY THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ALWAYS HAVE VOTED

and the way they would undoubtedly vote today if given the chance.



When the American voter in 1916 had a chance to express himself on getting into the war in Europe.



When the United States senate voted on entangling our country in an Anglo-French-American alliance.



When the United States senate voted on the ratification of the Versailles treaty.



When the country voted on the league of nations issue in 1920.



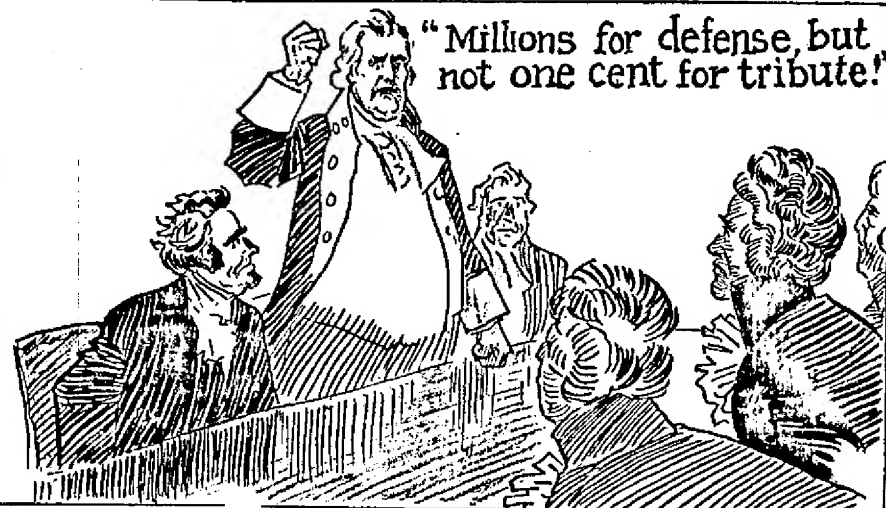
When our Interventionists tried to entangle the U. S. still further in Europe by keeping American troops on the Rhine.



And if congress ever votes to send American men to fight in Europe again, it will be in defiance of the profound convictions of an overwhelming majority of our people.

The great majority of the American people do not want this war. They do not believe that the mission of America is to police the world. They do not think that we are called upon to enforce our ideas on other peoples by force of arms. Good Americans know our job is here at home—to strengthen and improve the working of our own democracy. And when Peace comes, a strong, healthy America will be the sole hope of a war-torn world.

MOTHER'S DAY



When Charles Pinckney, John Marshall, and Elbridge Gerry were sent as American ambassadors to protest to France against unjust treatment on the high seas, Ambassador Pinckney used these ringing words to Foreign Minister Talleyrand.



Today the overwhelming majority of American mothers will paraphrase those historic, undying words.

The Interventionists try to delude us with the promise that even if their efforts bring us into the war, there will be no A. E. F.—that planes and ships and other tools of war will be enough.

That was the promise last time. It was false then. It is false today.

When the United States goes to war, it goes in to win. A deadlock will never satisfy us. We will want a decisive victory. And that means men as well as machines—men enough to destroy the most powerful military machine ever developed, entrenched upon a continent 3,000 miles away.

INDEPENDENCE DAY SHOULD BE A DAY OF NATIONAL UNITY



It took a long, hard fight to win our unity and independence from Europe and its wars.



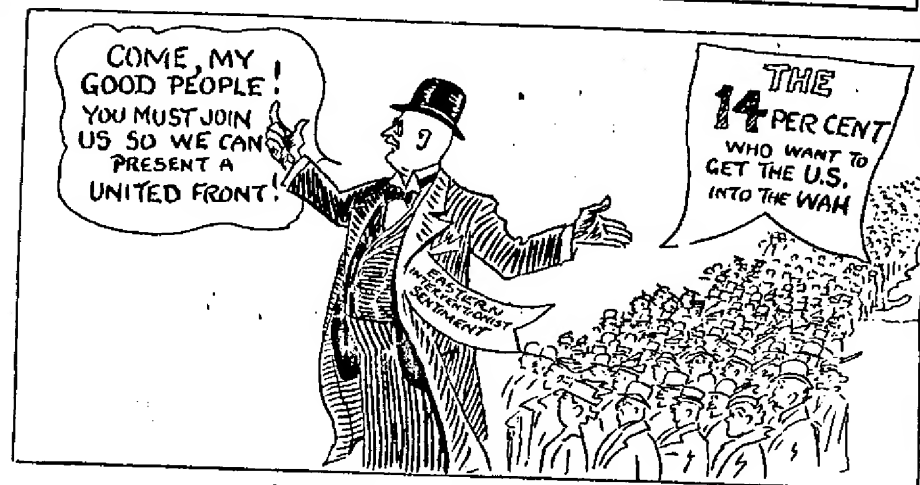
Can we retain our unity and our independence when there is a small, but active, minority striving to get the nation back into Europe and its wars?

We must all realize that even the most ardent Interventionist will not promise us that *this* war will be the last one.

Should we become involved in war, we also find ourselves involved in the unending aftermath. We shall be a part of the explosive quarrels that spring up with clock-like regularity after the Peace Treaty is signed.

Let us unite in our adherence to the time-honored American policy of Independence of Europe and its affairs.

WHICH IS THE BEST WAY OF SECURING NATIONAL UNITY—



—let the 86 per cent go over and join the 14 per cent?



—or let the 14 per cent go over and join the 86 per cent?

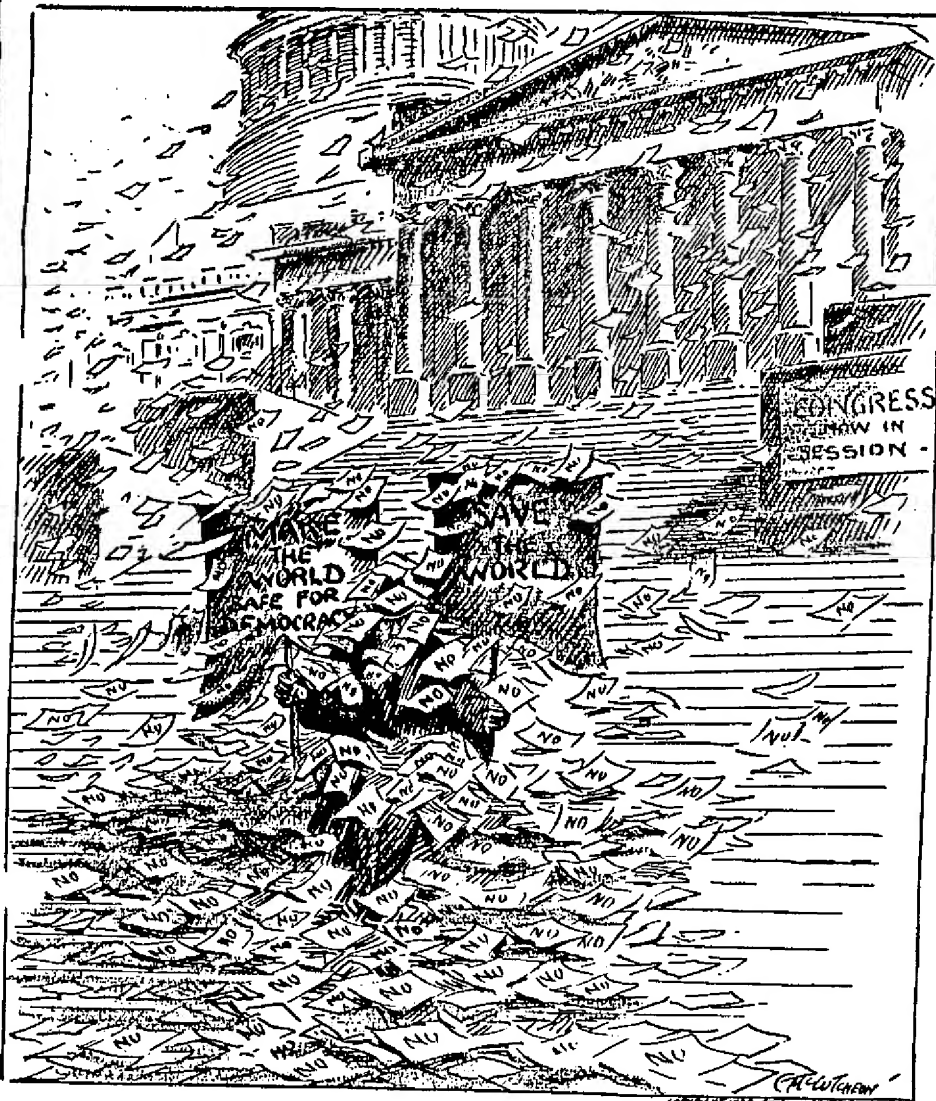
For many months that small minority of Americans, eager to have us go to war regardless of the costs, had things their own way.

They bombarded the public through the press and over the radio with their hysterical arguments. They made those who differed with them feel like a small, voiceless and ineffective group.

But now the America First Committee is giving a voice to the many millions of loyal and patriotic Americans who believe we must keep out of war. We are the majority!

A BIG NO STORM IN WASHINGTON

The Country Doesn't Seem to Want That Kind of Saving.

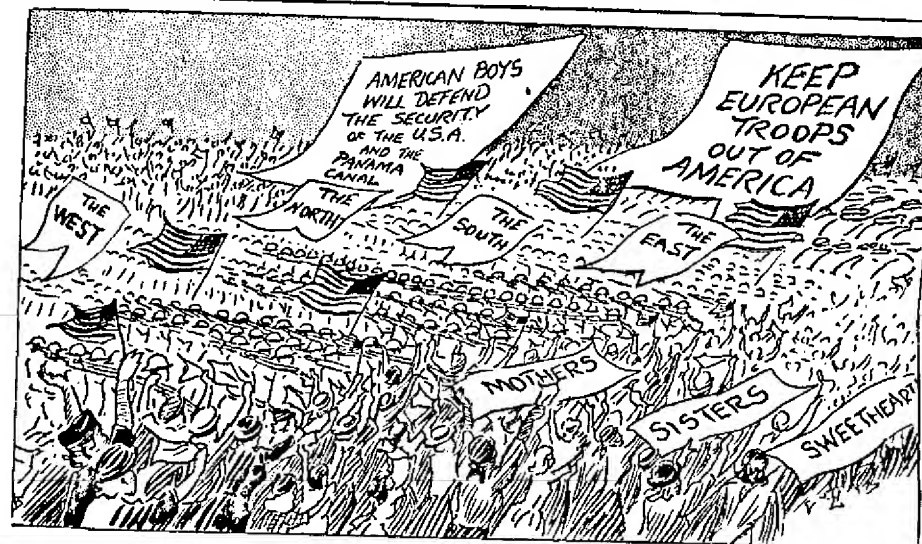


Perhaps the most important objective of the America First Committee is to consolidate that great mass of American public opinion that stands firmly opposed to involvement in the present war.

Letters and telegrams from good citizens in every one of the United States are pouring into Washington—addressed to Congress and the Administration.

So the will of the people is becoming unmistakable—a clear-cut mandate for Peace.

AN UNJITTERED PORTRAYAL OF THE NATIONAL SITUATION



If it's for home defense the ladies will all be rooting.



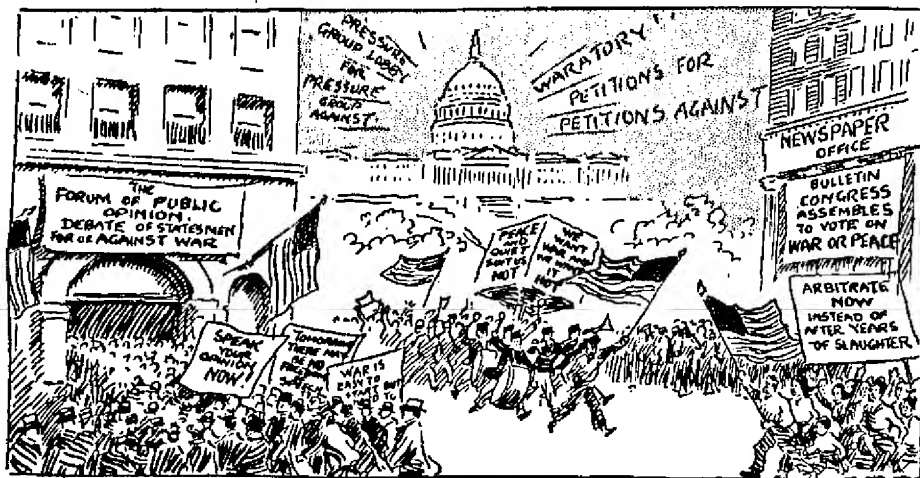
If it's for the defense of other nations 3,000 miles away, a sensational restraint of rooting.

The President of the United States stands ready to carry out the will of the people. The Congress is in Washington to enforce your wishes.

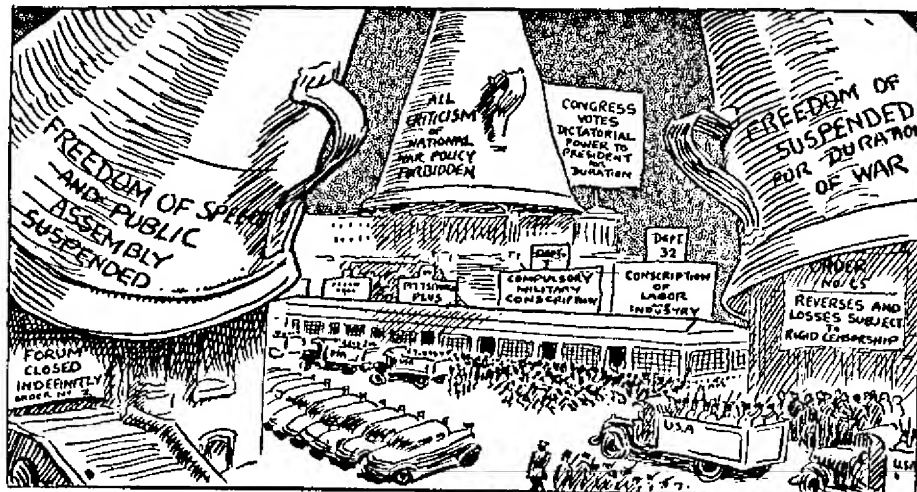
But the pressure of the Interventionists has been enormous. Their strength, concentrated in the nation's capital and a few Eastern cities, has given a false impression of their numbers.

Now all forty-eight states are speaking out! The tide is unmistakably turning toward Peace.

ONE OF THE IRONIC FEATURES OF A WAR BETWEEN DEMOCRACY AND DICTATORSHIPS IS—



—the fact that as soon as such a war is declared, the



—democracy at once has to suspend most of the constitutional rights we are fighting for and immediately has to clamp down the harsh restraints of dictatorship for the duration of the war.

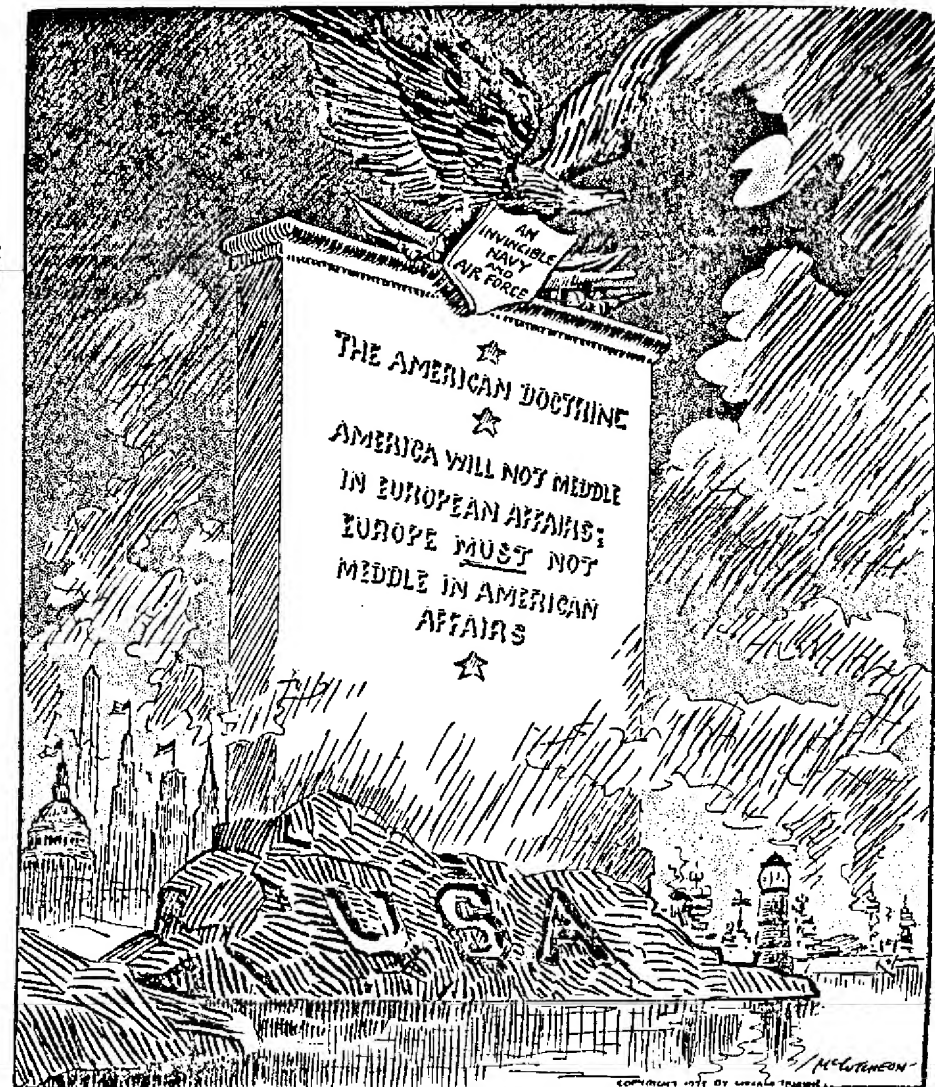
As individuals, it is our right to hate Totalitarianism and all its wrongs. But we cannot destroy that philosophy of life by making war upon it. We cannot destroy among other peoples a form of government that they have chosen and continue to maintain for themselves.

The human liberties that make up our democratic way of life must be preserved here in America.

At the very outbreak of war, all of our liberties must be suspended. For how long? After the war is over they may be returned to us. How many of them? And in what form?

Remember, it is war that breeds dictatorships! The ideals we go to war to protect are the first that we must relinquish when war comes.

THIS DOCTRINE, IF ADOPTED AND IMPARTIALLY ADHERED TO, IS THE ONLY FOREIGN POLICY THAT WILL KEEP THE UNITED STATES OUT OF ENDLESS TROUBLE



If you support the principles of the America First Committee, you may be called an Isolationist. But no man can truthfully be called an Isolationist who stands ready to extend humanitarian aid to peoples of England and the small democracies—and when Peace shall come, to help rebuild the world along saner lines.

The Monroe Doctrine, keystone of American Foreign Policy for over a hundred years, forbids European forces to intervene in American affairs. It is both inconsistent and foolhardy for American forces to intervene once more in European affairs.

AN AMERICAN PATRIOT PUTS INTO WORDS WHAT MILLIONS OF LOYAL AMERICANS FEEL



In 1775 Paul Revere and William Dawes rode on swift horses to warn the country of danger.



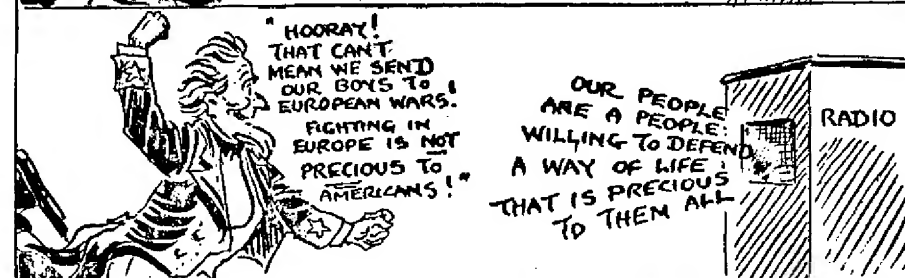
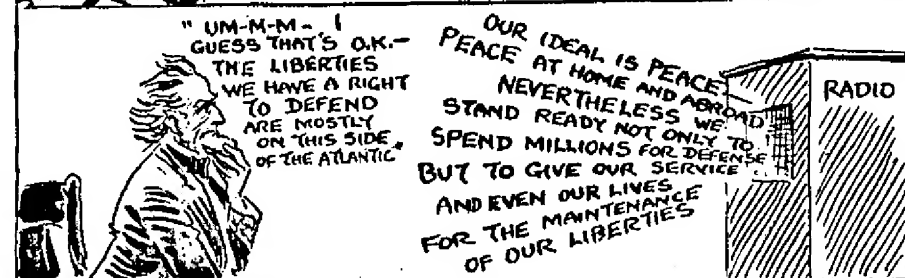
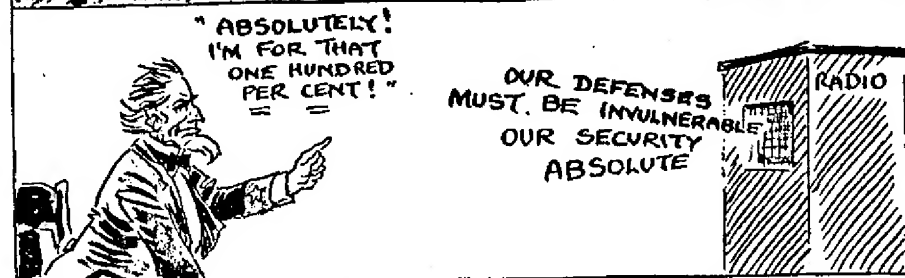
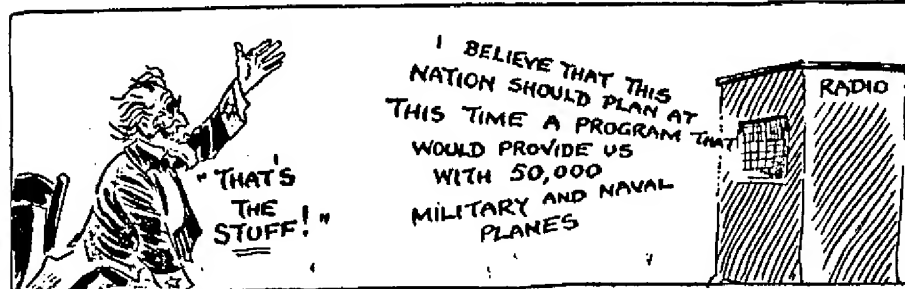
Today a descendant of William Dawes warns the country of another and far greater danger.

The issue of Peace or War for the United States is by far the most important issue we will be called upon to face in our life-times.

The consequences of participation will be so far-reaching that we will be called upon to suffer for them every day for many years to come.

Our country can be spared from such an act of national folly. But not if we stand idly by while the Interventionists have their way with us. We must ACT!

AS HE LISTENED TO THE PRESIDENT'S NATIONAL DEFENSE MESSAGE



The America First Committee holds that there is no real danger of attack, for several years, if at all, from any nation.

If Hitler cannot cross thirty miles of Channel with his scores of near-by bases, it is ridiculous to fear that he can attack us across 3,000 miles of ocean.

But we must build impregnable defenses so that our shores will always be safe, now and forever!

THE BEST RECIPE FOR NATIONAL UNITY



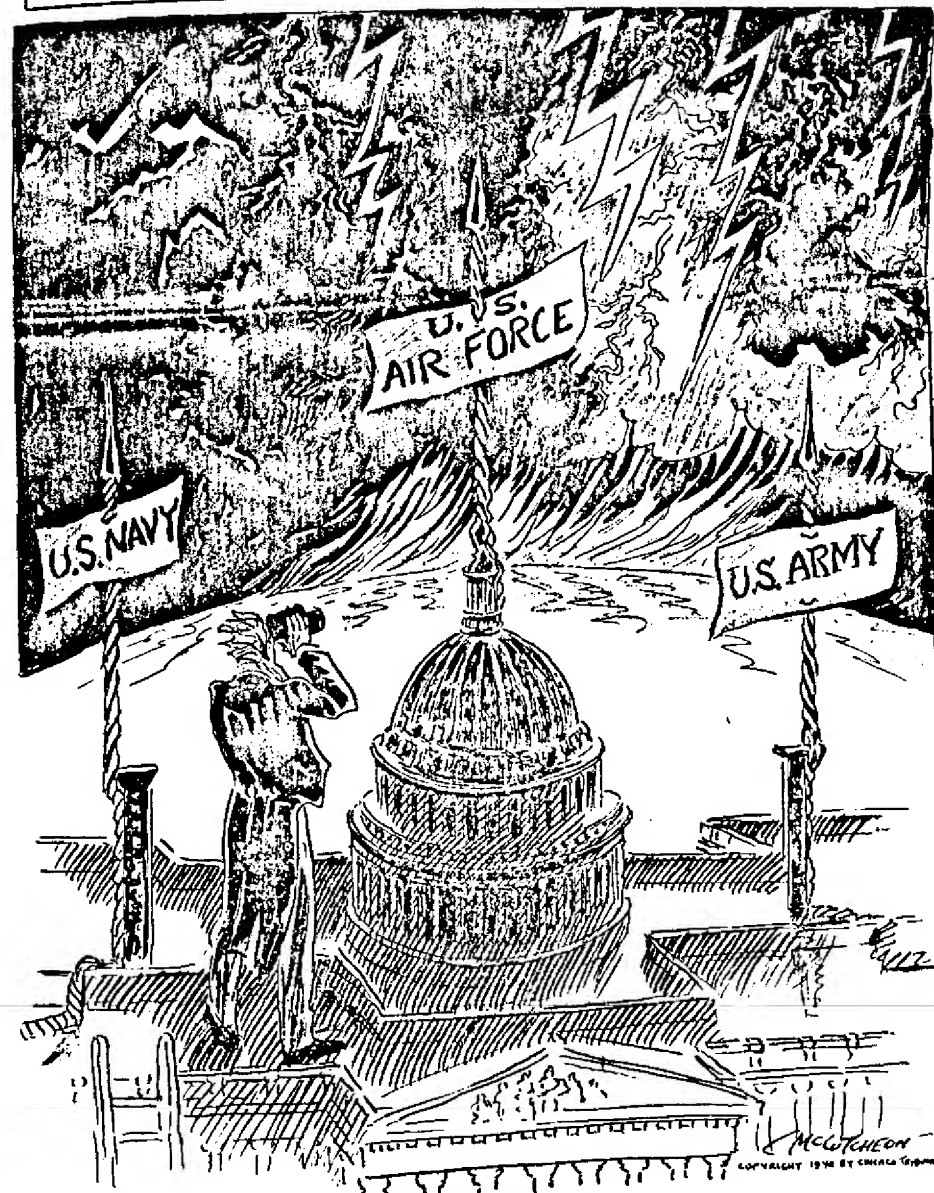
On Nov. 5, President Roosevelt was elected to a third term by an overwhelming majority. The chief reason for his great victory was his repeated and emphatic promise that he would keep us out of this war.

We trust that promise. But if the Interventionists have a free hand, America will have no choice for Peace or War.

If we ship munitions to England in American ships convoyed by American warships, the fighting will begin immediately.

Such a calamity must not be allowed to happen.

OUR LIGHTNING RODS



The United States must build and maintain a Navy and an Air Force second to none and a trained Army fully competent to repel any future attack upon the Americas.

These three will form a permanent line of defense behind which our liberties will always be secure.

Any attempt to weaken them for any purpose must be opposed with vigor and determination.

OUR TRINITY OF NATIONAL STRENGTH



[Reprinted by request.]

A strong, free, prosperous America is the best and only safeguard of Democracy here—and the true hope of democracies throughout the world.

When the peoples of Europe, Asia and Africa ravaged by all the horrors of modern war, turn to Peace at last, America's strength will help rebuild them and bring them back to health and hope.

The PRINCIPLES of the America First Committee

1. The United States must build an impregnable defense for America.
2. No foreign power, or group of powers, can successfully attack a PREPARED America.
3. American democracy can be preserved only by keeping out of the European war.
4. The cash-and-carry provisions of the existing Neutrality Act are essential to American peace and security. Aid to a belligerent beyond the limitations of the Act weakens our defense at home and may involve us in war abroad. Any change in the law to permit American vessels to enter the combat zone would inevitably plunge the country into Europe's war.
5. America should give humanitarian aid to the suffering and needy of England and the small democracies, with safeguards for the proper distribution of supplies and the maintenance of its own neutrality.

Objectives—Non-Partisan

1. To bring together all Americans, regardless of possible differences on other matters, who see eye-to-eye on these principles. (This does not include Nazis, Fascists, Communists, or members of other groups that place the interest of any other nation above those of our country.)
2. To urge Americans to keep their heads amid rising hysteria in times of crisis.
3. To provide sane national leadership for the majority of the American people who want to keep out of the European war.
4. To register this opinion with the President and with Congress.

National Committee

General Robert E. Wood, Acting Chairman

R. Douglas Stuart, Jr., National Director

I. Sanford Otis, Treas.

Dr. A. J. Carlson

William R. Castle

Mrs. Bennett Champ Clark

Irvin S. Cobb

Janet Ayer Fairbank

John T. Flynn

Henry Ford

Bishop W. E. Hammaker

Gen. Thomas Hammond

Jay C. Hormel

Gen. Hugh S. Johnson

Clay Judson

Kathryn Lewis

Alice Roosevelt Longworth

Hanford MacNider

Thomas N. McCarter

Ray McKaig

Sterling Morton

William H. Regnery

Capt. Edward Rickenbacker

Edward L. Ryerson, Jr.

Louis I. Taber

Mrs. Burton K. Wheeler

Dr. George H. Whipple

HERE is the road to WAR!

Read these amazing proposals now being quietly tested before the court of Public Opinion to see whether America is ready to tolerate them. Through such proposals the minds of our people are being "conditioned" for war — brought closer and closer to the point where we can be induced to accept active participation.

1. To amend the Neutrality Act so as to permit American ships to carry supplies to England.

England prevents shipping from reaching Germany. Germany tries desperately to prevent ships from reaching England.

If we change our laws to permit American ships to sail the war routes, it is only a matter of time — weeks or even days — until the first American ship is sunk.

American seamen will be drowned. Popular hatred will rise to irresistible heights. The actual state of war will become easier to face! This is a long step — a sure step, toward WAR!

2. To convoy shipments of munitions with units of the United States Navy. This is by far the most drastic proposal to be advanced by the Interventionists.

The commencement of actual fighting between the forces of Germany and the United States dates from the moment that the first merchant ships guarded by our Navy are attacked by a German warship.

Our destroyers will be sailing through zones in which attacks constantly occur — with guns loaded and gun crews alert.

It will be a matter of days at most until the first shot is fired — and it will be a matter of years until the last shot is fired.

This incredible example of interventionist folly must not be allowed to take place!

3. To amend the Johnson Act and the Neutrality Act so as to give direct money help to England — as loans or gifts.

The great majority of Americans know by experience that WAR is the worst possible investment. The return in cash or good will is zero!

Why deliberately cultivate one more direct financial stake in Europe's newest war? Why pour our own resources into this bottomless pit?

What return was ever made to us for the billions we presented Europe with last time? Our only reward was a rich harvest of ill-will — even from our debtor allies.

Besides, the British balance in this country is reported to be nearly \$2,400,000,000 even at this date — exclusive of Canadian, Australian and South African holdings.

The urge to lend to Britain is therefore not because of desperate need. It simply offers one more easy step toward war.

4. To withdraw recognition from the Vichy government.

Have we not enemies enough, that we should go far out of our way to make more?

Is this the traditional gallantry of America to kick France when she's on her knees — and helpless?

Is there not enough hostility three thousand miles away, so that we must challenge a friendly nation whose colonies lie within a few hundred miles? This is no defense measure! There is no slightest hint that French possessions will ever be used against us. It is simply creating another source of friction — another step toward war.

FELLOW AMERICANS!

Oppose each of these steps toward War with all your strength and all your energy!

The advocates of war for the United States do not work openly — with a frank statement of their true position.

They lead us blindly into War by easy stages. Each individual step may seem inconclusive. But add them up and they spell WAR!

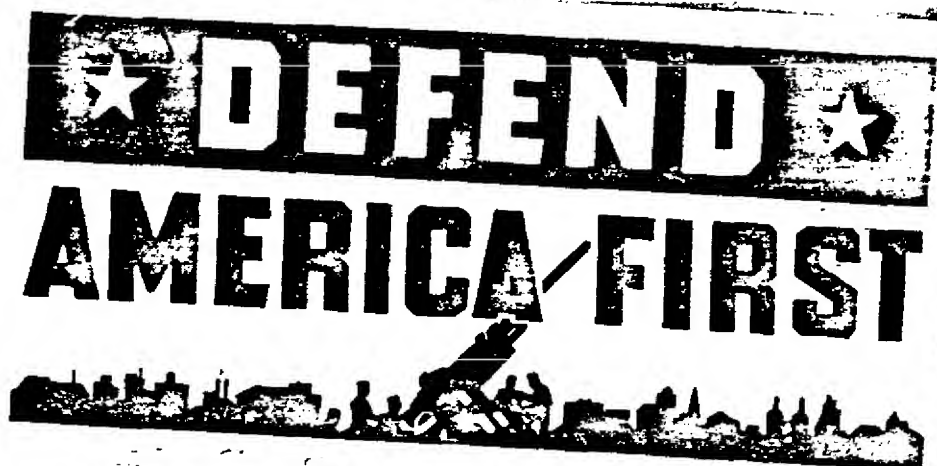
ACT NOW! Write today to the President of the United States in Washington, to your Senators and to your Representatives in Congress.

Tell them you wholeheartedly oppose each of these steps toward war — and any other measures which help to involve us in this conflict!

DEFEND AMERICA FIRST! Make it quite clear you take a positive stand for the protection of our own country. Tell them we want more ships, planes, tanks and guns to keep our own shores safe — independent of any other nation.

Insist we keep our military and naval strength intact. If we do so, no nation, nor group of nations, will dare attack us!

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
1806 Board of Trade Building
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS



OBJECTS AND PURPOSES

1. To preserve peace for America—to keep America out of War—to keep America free; by
 - (a) Establishing a functioning, permanent, American neutrality policy;
 - (b) Building an adequate national defense through efficient spending of preparedness moneys;
 - (c) Counteracting and exposing the forces leading our country toward war.
2. To publicize the war profiteering and corruption of the last World War; and to establish the identity of the forces of 1917 and of today.
3. To expose and to counteract all subversive "isms" including British Imperialism of such organizations as "Union-Now" and the William Allen White Committee, as well as the more publicized Communism, Nazism and Fascism.
4. To re-dedicate and to educate our people to the fundamental concepts of our American Government—to renounce the present-day materialistic philosophy and return to a governmental philosophy based on God.

190-471210

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AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

Gen. Robert E. Wood, Acting Chairman

J. Sanford Otis, Treasurer

R. Douglas Stuart, Jr., Director

Dr. A. J. Carlson
William R. Castle
Mrs. Bennett Champ Clark
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William H. Regnery
Edward Rickenbacker
Lessing J. Rosenwald
Edward L. Ryerson, Jr.
Louis J. Taber
Mrs. Burton K. Wheeler
Dr. George H. Whipple

Moisten the Other Side and Stick on Your Automobile Windshield or Store or Home Window.

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

1806 Board of Trade Building
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

37

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP CITIZENS KEEP AMERICA OUT OF WAR COMMITTEE

AVERY BRUNDAGE
HONORARY CHAIRMAN

WM. J. GRACE
CHAIRMAN

W. H. REGNERY
TREASURER

EARL SOUTHARD
SECRETARY

ROOM 412—77 W. WASHINGTON ST.
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
TELEPHONE STATE 7298

I hereby make application for membership in this Committee and tender the annual fee of \$1.00. I state that I am an American citizen — that I believe in our Constitutional Government — that I will support the objects of the Committee as stated on the reverse side hereof, and that in the event of my disagreeing with said objects my membership in this Committee shall automatically cease.

I believe that the perpetuation of the Republic of the United States depends upon keeping out of the entanglements and quarrels of foreign nations. I pledge myself to promote these ideas and to increase our strength by securing at least two new members for our Committee.

Name Address

Sponsor Phone

(Over)

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE CONTRIBUTION CARD

I AM CONVINCED that we can preserve our American democracy only by keeping out of foreign war. Therefore I am contributing \$_____ to support the work of the America First Committee.

Name.....

(PLEASE PRINT)

Address.....

ANY AMOUNT YOU WISH—DIMES OR DOLLARS—Make Checks payable to—

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE • 1806 Board of Trade Building • CHICAGO
(The work of the Committee depends entirely on voluntary contributions of time and money)

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

1606 BOARD OF TRADE BUILDING
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

IN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/6/86 BY SP6 bja/hcy

PRINCIPLES

1. The United States must build an impregnable defense for America.
2. No foreign power, or group of powers, can successfully attack a PREPARED America.
3. American democracy can be preserved only by keeping out of the European war.
4. The cash-and-carry provisions of the existing Neutrality Act are essential to American peace and security. Aid to a belligerent beyond the limitations of the Act weakens our defense at home and may involve us in war abroad. Any change in the law to permit American vessels to enter the combat zone would inevitably plunge the country into Europe's war.

OBJECTIVES — NON-PARTISAN

1. To bring together all Americans, regardless of possible differences on other matters, who see eye-to-eye on these principles. (This does not include Fascists or Communists.)
2. To urge Americans to keep their heads amid rising hysteria in times of crisis.
3. To provide sane national leadership for the majority of the American people who want to keep out of the European war.
4. To register this opinion with the President and with Congress.

WRITE OR WIRE THE PRESIDENT AND YOUR ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES TODAY, AND EACH WEEK, URGING THEM TO UPHOLD THE JOHNSON ACT (prevents extension of credit to belligerents), AND THE NEUTRALITY ACT, TO KEEP THE UNITED STATES OUT OF ALL FOREIGN WARS.

GET TEN OF YOUR FRIENDS AND NEIGHBORS TO WRITE ALSO, IF ONLY A PENNY POST CARD.

If you don't remember who your Congressman is, see list below.

Your local City Hall or Post Office can tell you the number of your Congressional district.

Cong. Dist. ALABAMA

- Senators:**
John H. Bankhead
Lester Hill
- Representatives:**
1 Frank William Boykin
2 George McInvalle Grant
3 Henry Bascom Steagall
4 Sam Hobbs
5 Joe Starnes
6 Pete Jarman
7 W. W. Bankhead
8 John J. Sparkman
9 Luther Patrick

ARIZONA

- Senators:**
Henry Fountain Ashurst
Carl Hayden
- Representative-At-Large:**
John R. Murdock

ARKANSAS

- Senators:**
Hattie W. Caraway
John E. Miller
- Representatives:**
1 Ezekiel Candler Gathings
2 Wilbur D. Mills
3 Clyde Taylor Ellis
4 Fadio Cravens
5 David Dickson Terry
6 William F. Norrell
7 Wade Kitchens

CALIFORNIA

- Senators:**
Hiram W. Johnson
Sheridan Downey
- Representatives:**
1 Clarence Frederick Lea
2 Harry Lane Englebright
3 Frank H. Buck
4 Frank R. Havenner
5 Richard J. Welch
6 Albert E. Carter
7 John H. Tolan
8 John Z. Anderson
9 Bertrand W. Gearhart
10 Alfred J. Elliott
11 Carl Hinshaw
12 Jerry Voorhis
13 Charles Kramer
14 Thomas Francis Ford
15 John Martin Costello
16 Leland M. Ford
17 Lee E. Gayer
18 (Vacant)
19 Harry R. Sheppard
20 Edouard V. M. Izac

COLORADO

- Senators:**
Alva Blanchard Adams
Edwin Carl Johnson
- Representatives:**
1 Lawrence Lewis
2 Fred Cummings
3 (Vacant)
4 Edward Thomas Taylor

CONNECTICUT

- Senators:**
Francis T. Maloney
John A. Danaher

Cong. Dist. CONNECTICUT (Cont.)

- Representatives:**
At Large: Boleslaus J. Monkiewicz
1 William J. Miller
2 Thomas Raymond Ball
3 James A. Shanley
4 Albert E. Austin
5 J. Joseph Smith

DELAWARE

- Senators:**
John G. Townsend, Jr.
James H. Hughes
- Representative-At-Large:**
George Short Williams

FLORIDA

- Senators:**
Charles O. Andrews
Claude Pepper
- Representatives:**
1 James Hardin Peterson
2 Robert Lex Green
3 Millard F. Caldwell
4 Pat Cannon
5 Joe Hendricks

GEORGIA

- Senators:**
Walter Franklin George
Richard B. Russell
- Representatives:**
1 Hugh Peterson
2 Edward Eugene Cox
3 Stephen Pace
4 Albert Sidney Camp
5 Robert Ramspeck
6 Carl Vinson
7 Malcolm Connor Tarver
8 W. Ben Gibbs
9 B. Frank Wheelchel
10 Paul Brown

IDAHO

- Senators:**
D. Worth Clark
John Thomas
- Representatives:**
1 Compton I. White
2 Henry C. Dworshak

ILLINOIS

- Senators:**
Scott W. Lucas
C. Wayland Brooks
- Representatives:**
At-Large: John C. Martin
T. V. Smith
1 Arthur W. Mitchell
2 Raymond S. McKeough
3 Edward A. Kelly
4 Harry P. Beam
5 Adolph J. Sabath
6 Anton F. Maciejewski
7 Leonard W. Schueta
8 Leo Kocialkowski
9 James McAndrews
10 Ralph E. Church
11 Chauncey W. Reed
12 Noah Morgan Mason
13 Leo Elwood Allen
14 Anton J. Johnson
15 Robert Bruce Chipfield
16 Everett McKinley Dirksen
17 Leslie C. Arends

Cong. Dist. ILLINOIS (Cont.)

- 18 Jessie Sumner
19 William Howard Wheat
20 James M. Barnes
21 Frank W. Fries
22 Edwin Martin Schaefer
23 Laurence F. Arnold
24 Claude V. Parsons
25 Kent Ellsworth Keller

INDIANA

- Senators:**
Frederick Van Nuys
Sherman Minton
- Representatives:**
1 William Theodore Schulte
2 Charles A. Halleck
3 Robert A. Grant
4 George W. Gillie
5 Forest Arthur Harness
6 Noble J. Johnson
7 Gerald W. Landis
8 John William Boehne, Jr.
9 Eugene B. Crowe
10 Raymond Smiley Springer
11 William Henry Larrabee
12 Louis Leon Ludlow

IOWA

- Senators:**
Guy Mark Gillette
Clyde LaVerne Herring
- Representatives:**
1 Thomas Ellsworth Martin
2 William Sebastian Jacobsen
3 John W. Gwynne
4 Henry O. Talle
5 Karl Miles LeCompte
6 Robert Kingman Goodwin
7 Ben Franklin Jensen
8 Fred C. Gilchrist
9 Vincent F. Harrington

KANSAS

- Senators:**
Arthur Capper
Clyde Martin Reed
- Representatives:**
1 William Purnell Lambertson
2 Ulysses Samuel Guyer
3 Thomas D. Winter
4 Edward H. Rees
5 John M. Houston
6 Frank Carlson
7 Clifford R. Hope

KENTUCKY

- Senators:**
Alben William Barkley
Albert Benjamin Chandler
- Representatives:**
1 Noble Jones Gregory
2 Beverly Mills Vincent
3 Emmet O'Neal
4 Edward Wester Creal
5 Brent Spence
6 Virgil Chapman
7 Andrew Jackson May
8 Joe B. Bates
9 John Marshall Robison

LOUISIANA

- Senators:**
John Holmes Overton
Allen Joseph Ellender

Cong. Dist. LOUISIANA (Cont.)

- Representatives:**
1 Joachim O. Fernandes
2 Paul Herbert Maione
3 Robert L. Mouton
4 Overton Brooks
5 Newt V. Mills
6 John Keller Griffith
7 Rene L. DeRouen
8 A. Leonard Allen

MAINE

- Senators:**
Frederick Hale
Wallace Humphrey White, Jr.
- Representatives:**
1 James Churchill Oliver
2 Margaret Chase Smith
3 Ralph O. Brewster

MARYLAND

- Senators:**
Millard E. Tydings
George L. Radcliffe
- Representatives:**
1 David J. Ward
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This address by General Wood is perhaps the most complete
presentation of our views. Will you please read it carefully?
The America First Committee

"Our Foreign Policy"

Speech by

GENERAL ROBERT E. WOOD

Acting Chairman
America First Committee



Delivered before the

Chicago Council on Foreign Relations

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 4, 1940



AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

National Headquarters
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The PRINCIPLES of the America First Committee

1. The United States must build an impregnable defense for America.
2. No foreign power, or group of powers, can successfully attack a PREPARED America.
3. American democracy can be preserved only by keeping out of the European war.
4. The cash-and-carry provisions of the existing Neutrality Act are essential to American peace and security. Aid to a belligerent beyond the limitations of the Act weakens our defense at home and may involve us in war abroad. Any change in the law to permit American vessels to enter the combat zone would inevitably plunge the country into Europe's war.

Objectives—Non-Partisan

1. To bring together all Americans, regardless of possible differences on other matters, who see eye-to-eye on these principles. (This does not include Fascists or Communists.)
2. To urge Americans to keep their heads amid rising hysteria in times of crisis.
3. To provide sane national leadership for the majority of the American people who want to keep out of the European war.
4. To register this opinion with the President and with Congress.

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

National Headquarters

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GENERAL ROBERT E. WOOD

By MR. CLAY JUDSON

Former President of the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations

We are at a crisis in our international relations. On the decisions now made by the people of this country and their leaders may depend our national welfare for generations to come.

At earlier meetings you have had presented to you dramatically, brilliantly, emotionally, the views of those who believe that the ideal of American life now demands a full participation in the war between England and Germany, and a willingness to take all the risks of war which that involves.

Now there is another view, equally patriotic, equally above question from the standpoint of ideals—but diametrically opposed in its spiritual and its practical approach to the problem. This view sees America's destiny as the preservation of peace for its 135,000,000 people; the abstention on any account, and no matter how emotional the appeal, from European and Asiatic wars; the maintenance of the processes of democracy and of civilization.

Those who hold this view are certain that we cannot enforce democracy on the rest of the world by force and arms. They believe war will be ruinous to everything we cherish most, and they believe we can avoid war, and should make every effort to do so.

This is the view of the man who addresses you today. He was born sixty-one years ago in the State of Missouri. Forty years ago he graduated from the United States Military Academy at West Point. His first military service was in the Philippine insurrection. As Chief Quartermaster at Panama during the days of the canal construction under General Goethals, he was charged with the duty of acquiring food, clothing, and supplies for the 40,000 employees and officials in the canal zone. During the World War he had a major responsibility for supplying our entire military establishment. After the war, in civil life, his ability gave him immediate recognition in the commercial world, where he served for ten years as President of Sears, Roebuck & Company, and is now the Chairman of its Board of Directors.

For his outstanding services during the World War he was awarded the Distinguished Service Medal. He is a Commander of the British Order of St. Michael & St. George. He is a Knight of the French Legion of Honor. At present he is the Acting Chairman of the America First Committee.

I am honored in presenting to you General Robert E. Wood, who will speak on "Our Foreign Policy."

"Our Foreign Policy"

I hesitated to accept the invitation of my friends, Dr. Lichtenstein and Mr. Utley, to address this gathering for two reasons—first, because I do not feel on a par as a speaker with the very eminent persons who have addressed these gatherings; second, because my views are opposed to those of a probable majority of my listeners—and I may add—opposed to those of some of my dearest friends and relatives. I have a brother-in-law on the William Allen White Committee.

But it is one of the beauties of a democracy that in time of peace, at least, men are free to express their opinions and honest men respect opposing opinions if those opinions are sincere and free of ulterior motive, and now is a time for all honest men to express their convictions.

The Hour of Decision

This country is on the eve of momentous decisions. The results of these decisions may be so far reaching that they may have an effect for good or bad on the life of this country for at least a generation. I am at the stage of life when I do not care as to the effect on myself or my own generation. I do greatly care what the effects will be on my children and grandchildren and their generation.

There are two schools of thought in this country on the subject of our foreign policy. They may be termed "Interventionists" and "Isolationists." These terms are not exactly descriptive, because all interventionists are not extreme interventionists and most isolationists are only isolationists as to Europe and Asia, but not isolationists as to the balance of North America and South America.

I except from my discussion those who have ulterior motives—anything except the welfare of our country. That would include the Communists who really desire to destroy our Government; the Nazis and members of the Bund who put the interests of Germany above those of this country; some ultra-pacifists who forget the interests of their country in their desire for peace at any price; a limited number of extreme Anglophiles who put the interests of Great Britain above those of their own country.

Our Common Ground

These schools of thought are in violent opposition, but there are certain points of agreement among all classes except perhaps what may be called the lunatic fringe of our population.

These points of agreement are:

First—The necessity for a strong defense—a strengthening of our army and navy and air force. Our people are practically unanimous on this subject—the only differences are on differences of detail. It is obvious that the richest nation of the world, in a world of force, must make itself impregnable.

Second—The belief that no foreign nation must obtain possession of any part of the two Americas and that the United States must be prepared to defend the North American continent, and at least that portion of the South American continent as far as the Equator. There is some difference of opinion as to whether military and naval protection should go as far as Cape Horn.

Third—Access to our great industrial plant by Great Britain within the limits of the neutrality law—that is, unlimited right of purchase by Great Britain of planes, tanks, munitions of war, raw materials from private manufacturers, provided she can pay for them and provide her own transportation. And this I may add is a very great aid.

Without this aid now being given, England could not long carry on the war, for her supplies of raw materials, her steel making capacity, munitions and plane plants are insufficient for a long major war. Without the production facilities of the United States she would be crushed. Theoretically, Germany is entitled to the same privilege—actually, on account of the British blockade, she cannot use our facilities, but she has no right to complain. I believe the overwhelming majority of the citizens are in accord with these three principles. I know I am.

Here Differences Begin

But it is when we get beyond the third point that opinion diverges sharply. The present administration in power, probably the majority of our editors and columnists, a very influential body of public opinion as represented by the Committee to Defend America by Aiding Britain is in favor of our government turning over some of our flying fortresses, more destroyers, more planes, and merchant ships. Others, even more extreme, favor an outright alliance with Great Britain and a declaration of war on Germany.

Now what are the fundamental arguments for this point of view? They may be reduced to three principal reasons:

First—The totalitarian state with its ideology, with its record of persecution, is repugnant to our ideals and should be destroyed, even if we have to enter a war to accomplish this result.

Second—Our own protection depends on Britain as our first line of defense, and if she falls, we are exposed to the onslaught of a totalitarian combination. Per se, it follows that we must give England all the aid we can, even at the risk of entering the war.

Third—If Britain is defeated, it will be impossible for a free competitive, unorganized and unmanaged industrial system to compete with a totalitarian system.

War Does Not Destroy Ideologies

As to the first reason, you cannot destroy an ideology by waging war on it. The conditions created in Europe by the Versailles Treaty were largely responsible for the rise of Hitler and the Nazi philosophy. The history of Europe for the last 100 years is a story of cruelties, persecutions, injustices. No government was more repugnant to our ideals and ideas than the old Czaristic regime of Russia—it had over many years a series of pogroms, but we remained on friendly terms with Russia. Up to 1917 we had always remained true to the principles of foreign policy laid down by the founders of our country: the policy of keeping aloof from the quarrels of Europe and Asia.

The Communistic regime of Russia under Lenin and Stalin was equally opposed to our principles and was detested by the majority of our people. Nevertheless, we have maintained our relations with Russia, and we have certainly had no idea of making war on that country.

Sentimentalists or Realists?

A nation cannot be a knight-errant. It must be realistic. Great Britain, during her entire history, has been coldly realistic, and her success in building up her Empire has been due to her realism. As individuals we can give vent to our generous impulses or even to our pet hates, but our statesmen, our editors, our moulders of public opinion must consider that it is not their individual fortunes and lives that are to be considered, but those of 130,000,000 of their fellow citizens.

Now as to the second reason—our military defense in the event of a German victory. Our country has gone through a curious transformation of thought since May 10th. From an underestimate of the military and economic strength of Germany, it has gone to the opposite extreme of overestimating that strength. From some of the remarks heard on the Eastern seaboard in June, we would have thought that New York and Boston were in imminent danger of being bombed.

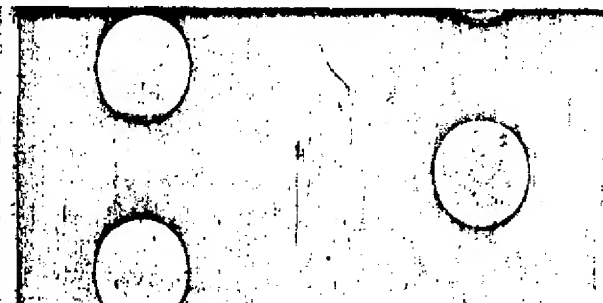
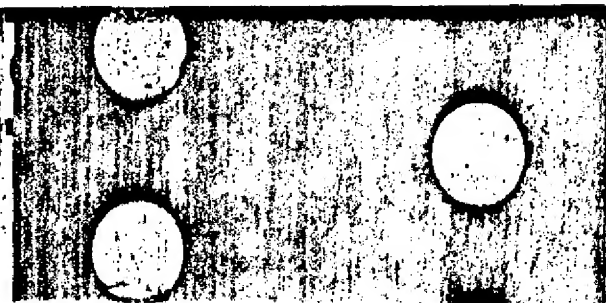
Bombings Alone Cannot Win

Now the events in Spain, Poland, Belgium and France showed the major importance of the air arm when supported by tanks, infantry and a modern army. But Spain showed that bombing of cities, unsupported by an army, cannot win a war or even shake the morale of a population if the nation is of tough fibre like the Spanish and English peoples.

Apparently the Battle of England is demonstrating the same principle. Unless an army can cross the Channel, the German air force cannot impose a decision on England. Casualties and material damage—yes. The 15,000 casualties in London so far are but a drop in the bucket for a nation of 45,000,000 people; more casualties were incurred in single days of the Verdun, Ypres and Somme offensives. The destruction of apartment houses, stores, public buildings do not constitute a blow to the military strength of a nation. If the docks, railroads, power plants and munitions plants are put out of commission, it does affect the military effort, but unless it is done on a gigantic scale the nation cannot be subdued, and all evidence is to the effect that military damage thus far has not been of such a serious character as to severely impair the island's defense.

Can England Be Invaded?

As for an invasion, at the great risk of being called a false prophet, I doubt whether any invasion will ever be made, and if it is attempted, it will be decisively repulsed. To land 250,000 Germans in England, with mechanized equipment, ammunition and necessary supplies, would be a gigantic operation. Once landed, that force would have to face 1,500,000 Englishmen under arms, fighting on their own island behind strong defenses. And to land those 250,000 Germans means practically complete mastery of the air, blocking off the English fleet, complete control of the Channel—none of which objectives have yet been attained after more than a month of intensive



effort. To sum up, I doubt whether the island can be conquered, and I am quite sure the British fleet cannot be put out of commission.

Now we come to our own danger of invasion and the perfectly fantastic hysteria that pervaded this country after the battle of France. I think any competent military or naval expert, certainly the vast majority, will tell you that there is absolutely no danger of an invasion of the United States even if Germany is completely victorious, and I doubt whether she will be. The amount of shipping required for the transportation of even 250,000 men of a modern mechanized army with their ammunition and supplies over 3,000 miles of ocean is colossal and it is to be presumed that our own navy and air force will not be idle.

No Army Can Attack Us

If it is impracticable or at least exceedingly difficult for an army to cross 25 miles of Channel, what valid grounds are there for supposing that a large army can cross 3,000 miles of ocean to invade a continent?

Some will inquire—why should it not be possible for Germany to seize bases in Mexico or Central America and attack from those countries. Again, that presupposes an overwhelming sea power. But even if that sea power were present, there would again be the same difficulties of a 3,000 mile long line of communication for an invading army. And an army once landed must cross an exceedingly difficult terrain before ever arriving at the Texas border. I think that hypothesis may be safely dismissed.

Panic First—Then War!

Now we come to the favorite bogey—air attacks. I quote from Major Al Williams' recent speech, reprinted in the Congressional Record—"Oceans and extended lines of communications are still vital factors in modern warfare. President Roosevelt's panicky flight schedule for the air invasion of America is ridiculous, worthy of Hollywood and certainly not of the White House. To support my argument against the President's wild flight schedule for a foreign air invasion of the United States I offer a single incontrovertible reason. With all their air power the Germans could not attack and subdue England from air bases 300 to 500 miles distant. Instead they seized air bases on the north coast of Holland, Belgium and France 20 to 100 miles distant from the coast of England. Each and every stage of

the fantastic itinerary for the air invasion of America would have to be conquered for the establishment of major air bases for the enemy attempting the job. The President must know this—but apparently the pattern is panic first, and then war."

An Exhausted Germany Is Harmless

All of this presupposes a completely victorious Germany, ready at the end of a long and costly struggle, to immediately embark on a new and perilous adventure across 3,000 miles of ocean against a nation of 130,000,000 people. The present war represents seven years of preparation on the part of Germany. So-called total war represents a prodigal expenditure of labor, money and effort. Steel is rapidly consumed, aircraft and mechanical equipment are rapidly worn out, reserves of all kinds are exhausted, not to mention the wear and tear on human beings. A nation that for seven years has been given guns instead of butter is apt at the end of this war to demand more butter from its leaders.

So on every count it seems inconceivable to me that Germany at the end of the war, even if aided by its allies, who will be in a worse condition of exhaustion than Germany itself, will attack the United States. And if this country with its 130,000,000 people and its two great natural ocean barriers cannot defend itself unaided by Britain or anybody else, it does not deserve to survive. The great nation that has to trust to others for its defense is on the downward path to destruction.

Europe Must Have Our Goods

Now as to our economic problems. An economic war after the war—the loss of our European, Asiatic and South American trade. I have a high personal regard for Walter Lippmann's brains and ability, but I believe his picture of an unequal contest between a totalitarian economy and a free economy is misleading. After all, when two nations or two continents each have things the other needs trade eventually results regardless of the feelings each may have for the other. Europe needs us more than we need Europe—our materials and products are more important to her than hers to us. True, Germany has reduced largely its purchases from us, but more from necessity than choice. As far as South America is concerned, we can always obtain the lion's share of the trade of Mexico, Central America, Colombia and Venezuela because we buy the metals of Mexico, the coffee and bananas of Central America and Cp-



lombia, the oil of Venezuela. In those countries, our geographical location must always give us the edge. We can take the coffee of Brazil but not its cotton; so its trade will naturally divide between Europe and the United States. It is in Argentina and Chile that our troubles come. We cannot take the meat, cotton and wool of the Argentina because we produce those products ourselves. The same applies to the copper and nitrates of Chile. We cannot sell unless we buy and that is a far greater obstacle than all Nazidom.

It must not be forgotten that Germany put on an intensive drive for trade in South America in the period 1936-1938, and if my recollection of the figures is correct, while Germany's percentage of the trade gained somewhat, the gain was not large, and it was largely at the expense of Great Britain; our trade declined only a fraction of one per cent.

We'll Get Our Share of Foreign Trade!

No man can foretell the future, but as long as we have products South America can use and above all, if they have products we can use, we will get our full share of the trade. As for Asia, the same remarks pertain as to Europe. Japan needs us far more than we need her. Our trade with Japan incidentally runs between five and six times the trade of China, whom we are making such great efforts to help. Even if Japan gets control of the Dutch East Indies—and that is not assured—she is going to be more anxious to sell us rubber and tin to obtain dollar exchange than we are to buy the products. And if war with Japan comes, we can get Bolivian tin and develop our synthetic rubber. We are certainly as resourceful as the Germans who are filling 90% of their rubber requirements with the synthetic article.

In 1937 Colombia's trade with us was 168,000,000 pesos, with Germany 40,000,000. Of Venezuela's trade, the United States took 12.5% of their imports and furnished 53% of the exports, Germany 13.6%. Of Costa Rica's imports, 42.5% came from the United States, 23% from Germany. Of her exports 45% went to the United States and 19.5% to Germany.

As for lack of organization, if needs be, we can meet fire with fire; we can set up export cartels and mass purchasing organizations and we can do this without danger to our system.

The Americas Must Stand Together!

Americans like myself feel that our true mission is in North America and South America. We stand today in an unrivalled position. With our resources and organizing ability we can develop, with our Canadian friends, an only partially developed continent like North America and a virgin continent like South America. The reorganization and proper development of Mexico alone would afford an outlet for our capital and energies for some time to come. And while I think we should try in every way to maintain the friendship of our neighbors to the South, I think we should also make it clearly understood that no government in Mexico, Central America and the Caribbean South American countries will be tolerated unless it is friendly to the United States and that, if necessary, we are prepared to use force to attain that object.

Instead of what seems to be a sane objective we are on the verge of throwing our treasure and our blood into a European war, with consequences that no one can foretell.

I respect the honest views of honest Americans, no matter how opposed they may be to my own, but there are two matters that I resent: First is the attempt to smear any one opposed to what I might call the majority publicized viewpoint of what we should do in this war. When the editor of a pink New York sheet denounces Col. Lindbergh as the head of the Fifth Column in the U. S., we have reached the summit of mud slinging. You may disagree violently with Col. Lindbergh, you may feel he has made serious mistakes, but you have no right to denounce a courageous, patriotic American citizen as a traitor merely because he disagrees with your views. That is as bad as the Nazis, an attempt to suppress freedom of speech.

The other point I resent is the way the issue is being presented to the American people. We are being edged into the war without the masses' knowledge. We have the anomalous situation of the polls showing a majority of the people favoring a course that is bound to get us into the war, while the same polls show 86% of the same people oppose actual entry into the war. That shows that the minds of the people are confused.

How Wars Are Sold to Us

Many of my hearers were adults at the time of the previous war and were familiar with the propaganda that led up to that war. If you want to know the

propaganda and its falsity, read a
 Can Be Told," in which he admitted the outrageous
 lies that were perpetrated on the American public.
 And Sir Philip Gibbs was no German but the leading
 English war correspondent, knighted by his King.
 The London Economist in a recent issue said it was
 only a question of time until American public opin-
 ion could be brought to the point where we would
 actively enter the war.

I believe a majority of the people who are advo-
 cating "aid short of war" do not desire us to enter
 the war. But there are others who do desire us to
 enter the war, who are taking the necessary steps
 to prepare the American people for active participa-
 tion, who would enter it tomorrow if they dared,
 who are today in practical alliance with England,
 and unfortunately they are the people who are shap-
 ing our national policy today. You hear in Wash-
 ington today that we are now in the war. You
 hear predictions from men, and men who ought to
 know, that we will actively enter the war within
 sixty days after the election.

The American people should think this matter
 through. The course we are pursuing is bound to
 involve us in the war. You cannot play with fire
 and not get burned. You cannot have your govern-
 ment, not private manufacturers, transfer its equip-
 ment to foreign powers, you cannot have your gov-
 ernment in an unofficial alliance with a foreign
 power, you cannot be a meddler in Indo-China, be-
 rate Italy and Germany without eventually involving
 the nation in war, and if war comes I venture to
 predict that we will repeat the history of the last
 war. When the declaration of war was made in 1917
 originally it was intended to send only the Navy
 to the assistance of the Allies.

Man-Power, Too!

Joffre came over in the spring of 1917, told the
 plight of the French Army after the 1917 spring
 Champagne offensive, where whole divisions of the
 French Army mutinied, and implored us to send
 over a token force, otherwise France would collapse.
 We sent Pershing and the First Division, about
 30,000 men. Then came the impending collapse of
 Russia, frantic calls for more men, then the great
 German offensive of 1918 and the rout of the British
 Fifth Army, more frantic appeals, until finally we
 put under arms 4,000,000 men, sent 2,000,000 men

to France, spent 20 billion dollars and had 150,000
 casualties. I need not refer to our treatment by our
 former allies after the Armistice. They took the
 loot, we did not even get thanks.

I do not often agree with the editorials on foreign
 policy in my friend Frank Knox's paper, but there
 is a recent editorial with which I am in 100% agree-
 ment. The editorial quoted two recent speeches by
 both Presidential candidates in which both pledged
 themselves never to send American boys to France.
 The editorial spoke of both these pledges as political
 bunk and very truly stated that if we entered the
 war we would enter it to win, and, if necessary to
 win, we would send an expeditionary force—and that
 is the absolute truth.

The People Must Know the Truth

The issue should be honestly presented to the people.
 If we aid Britain, short of war and beyond the limits
 of the Neutrality Act, it ultimately means war and
 should mean war. If we enter the war, we must
 enter it with all our strength in men and money.
 That is the only way to win a war.

If the military reports from abroad are correct,
 I feel there is no doubt that Great Britain can de-
 fend her island, her dominions like Canada, Aus-
 tralia and New Zealand. She may lose Egypt, the
 Suez and Gibraltar, though this is extremely doubt-
 ful. So far the Italians have shown no signs of real
 offensive strength. There is little doubt that England
 can make a negotiated peace by which she can keep
 her fleet and her colonies, but which will leave Ger-
 many the economic control of Western Europe. But
 she cannot decisively defeat Germany unaided. Her
 statesmen privately admit that, and say that for her
 to gain a decisive victory we will have to actively
 enter the war. One of the great mistakes made by
 the Allies in this war was that in its first six months
 they thought they could win a safe economical war,
 with France sitting behind the Maginot line and
 England maintaining its blockade, with little ex-
 penditure of blood and a minimum expenditure of
 treasure. For us to actively enter the war means
 ships, planes, money, men, expeditionary forces.
 That is the issue that must ultimately be presented
 to the American people, and it should be presented
 openly, honestly and squarely.

Our Own Democracy Will Be Sacrificed

In deciding this issue, the American people should face the costs. We start with a debt of \$50,000,000,000. With the enormous cost of waging modern war, the cost of sending forces over 3,000 miles of ocean, of engaging our navy in the Far East, we would ultimately face a debt of from 100 to 150 billions. Victorious or defeated, we will be faced at the conclusion of such a war with great economic dislocations—the rich would face a capital levy, the middle classes impoverishment, and the masses a lowered standard of living and the loss of most of the social gains so far secured.

Competent observers believe that if the war is prolonged in Europe over one or two years, it will result in Communism in all Europe, and a species of National Socialism in England. If we are involved, it probably spells the end of capitalism all over the world.

Defend America First, Last, Always

I would unhesitatingly say to throw everything we have into a war to defend the United States or our own sphere of influence, which is the North American continent and part, if not all, of the South American continent. I do not think the American people should make these sacrifices to interfere in the quarrels of Europe and Asia, old, sick and overpopulated continents with ancient rivalries that cannot be healed. It is up to the American people to decide whether they want to make these sacrifices to preserve not England but the British Empire, and help regulate Europe and Asia. But they should make the decision with all the cards on the table, not misled by artifice and subterfuge.

But if that decision is given affirmatively, I think you will find Americans like myself, who sincerely believe such a course spells disaster to the nation, will be at their posts of duty in the service of this country. I am old fashioned enough to believe in the toast offered by Stephen Decatur back in 1816, "Our Country! In her intercourse with foreign nations, may she always be in the right: but Our Country, right or wrong."

Additional copies of this speech can be secured by addressing America First Committee, 1806 Board of Trade Building, Chicago.

If you, as an American citizen, believe that our first duty is to our own country, join the America First Committee by signing your name below and mail to the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE, 1806 Board of Trade Building, Chicago, Illinois.

I wish to join the America First Committee.

- In addition, I will* ☐ *arrange with my local theater to show the Committee's film, "Which Way America?"* ☐ *urge my local radio station to broadcast transcribed talks by the Committee's speakers,* ☐ *write to my Congressman, and urge others to do so.*
- ☐ *I am enclosing a list of names of others who are interested and to whom literature should be sent.*
- ☐ *I am enclosing \$_____ to support the work of the America First Committee. (Make your check payable to the America First Committee.)*

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____

STATE _____

The work of the Committee is supported entirely by voluntary contributions of time or money.

National Committee

GENERAL ROBERT E. WOOD, Acting Chairman
R. DOUGLAS STUART, Jr., National Director
J. SANFORD OTIS, Treas.

DR. A. J. CARLSON

WILLIAM R. CASTLE

MRS. BENNETT CHAMP CLARK

JANET AYER FAIRBANK

JOHN T. FLYNN

HENRY FORD

BISHOP W. E. HAMMAKER

GEN. THOMAS HAMMOND

JAY C. HORMEL

GEN. HUGH S. JOHNSON

CLAY JUDSON

KATHRYN LEWIS

ALICE ROOSEVELT LONGWORTH

HANFORD MACNIDER

THOMAS N. MCCARTER

RAY MCKAIG

STERLING MORTON

WILLIAM H. REGNERY

CAPT. EDWARD RICKENBACKER

LESSING J. ROSENWALD

EDWARD L. RYERSON, JR.

LOUIS J. TABER

MRS. BURTON K. WHEAT

DR. GEORGE H. WHIPPLE

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DATE 2/6/86 BY SP

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Boston, Massachusetts
February 20, 1941

Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Re: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE OF
GREATER BOSTON
91-93 Federal St., Boston, Mass.

Dear Sir:

I am forwarding herewith a circular put
out by the above organization.

It was thought that the Bureau might be
interested in this circular.

Very truly yours,

V. W. Peterson

V. W. PETERSON
Special Agent in Charge.

VWP:LMC

Enclosure

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100-4712-11	
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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
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Enclosure to Director

Circular put out by
America First Committee of Greater Boston

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED *on this envelope*
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DATE *5/6/86* BY *SP6 bja/tcy*

ARE YOU WILLING TO GIVE UP DEMOCRACY?

DO YOU WANT TO GO TO WAR WITHOUT BEING ASKED?

ARE YOU READY TO MAKE THE U.S. A DICTATORSHIP?

THEN SPEAK UP NOW!

**A war dictatorship bill has
been introduced in Congress**

**The President would
have absolute power
to do these things
without consulting
Congress or the people**

1. Cancel the Neutrality Act and send our warships and merchant vessels into the war zones.
2. Cancel the Johnson Act and give unlimited funds to foreign nations.
3. Cancel any other law on the statute books.
4. Make military alliances with any nations anywhere in the world.
5. Take us into war whenever, wherever and against whomever he chooses.
6. Give away our Navy to any nation.
7. Give away every gun and bullet in our Army to any nation.
8. Give away every American airplane to any nation.
9. Give away all our military secrets to any nation.
10. Open our harbors and all their facilities to the warships of any nations engaged in war.
11. Seize the ships of one country and give them to another country.

**ACT
NOW!**

**HERE'S WHAT YOU MUST DO NOW
TO SAVE OUR REPUBLIC**

**ACT
NOW!**

● Telegraph, telephone or write your two Senators; also your Congressman; also Senator Walter F. George, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

● Tell them you are opposed to the war dictatorship bill, that you want them to fight and vote against it, that you won't stand for compromises, that the **WHOLE BILL MUST BE KILLED** and thrown out of the Capitol.

● Make a list of all your friends and relatives and get them to do the same.

● Do it immediately.

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE OF GREATER BOSTON

219 1/2 FEDERAL STREET

BOSTON

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT **KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI**

K.C. FILE NO. **100-1077**

REPORT MADE AT KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI	DATE WHEN MADE 2-20-41	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE 1-13/16/31-41 2-12-41	REPORT MADE BY <div style="background-color: black; width: 100px; height: 1.2em; display: inline-block;"></div> b7c
TITLE AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE			CHARACTER OF CASE INTERNAL SECURITY MATTER
<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> <div style="width: 25%;"> <p>SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:</p> <p style="writing-mode: vertical-rl; transform: rotate(180deg);"> ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 5/6/86 BY SP-6 BJA/tyg </p> <p>b2 b7D</p> </div> <div style="width: 75%;"> <div style="background-color: black; width: 100%; height: 150px; margin-bottom: 10px;"></div> <p>Names of the leaders of this movement in Kansas City obtained and set out herein.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">- P -</p> </div> </div>			
<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> <div style="width: 25%;"> <p>DETAILS:</p> <p>b2 b7D</p> </div> <div style="width: 75%;"> <p>AT KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI:</p> <div style="background-color: black; width: 100%; height: 150px; margin-top: 10px;"></div> </div> </div>			
APPROVED AND FORWARDED: <div style="font-family: cursive; font-size: 1.2em; margin-top: 10px;">Dwight Brantley</div>		SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	
COPIES OF THIS REPORT: 5 - Bureau 2 - Kansas City		<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> <div> <p>100-4712-12</p> <p>FEB 24 1941</p> <p>3-27-57</p> <p>169</p> </div> <div> <p>DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES</p> <p style="text-align: right;">MAR 6 1941</p> </div> </div>	

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XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET7

Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

- ☒ Deleted under exemption(s) b2 b7D with no segregable material available for release to you.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.
- ☐ Documents originated with another Government agency(ies). These documents were referred to that agency(ies) for review and direct response to you.

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100-4712-12 p. 2-8

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[REDACTED]

The names of the Executive Committee of the Kansas City Chapter are incorporated as follows:

DAVID B. CHILDS
ROY K. DIETRICH
PORTER T. HALL
DR. BRUCE TRIMBLE
HAL LUHNOW
MRS. R. J. HIGGINS

CLIFF O. JONES
MRS. E. H. VINCENT
MRS. E. C. MESERVEY, JR.
RAY F. MOSELEY
MRS. FRANKLIN MURPHY

The following are the sponsors of the Committee:

E. C. ALEXANDER
ORVILLE ANDERSON
MR. AND MRS. MITCHELL T. BEHEN
DONALD R. BLACK -
PHILLIP S. BROWN
MR. AND MRS. CHARLES BYERS
W. K. CANTWELL
MR. AND MRS. PHILLIP E. CAMPBELL
MRS. CHARLES F. CARROLL
MRS. DAVID B. CHILDS
B. C. CHRISTOPHER, JR.
REV. JOSEPH CLEVELAND
J. E. DANIELS
R. L. DANIELS
E. C. BOYLE
MRS. GEORGE FULLER
MRS. PORTER T. HALL
MRS. J. C. BARLINE
MR. F. E. WILCOX
MR. AND MRS. PAUL WILSON
REV. WILLIAM L. YOUNG

MR. AND MRS. J. SCOTT HARRISON
WILLIAM S. HOGSETT
JOHN JENKINS
PAUL JUNKINS
MRS. CLIFF C. JONES
A. S. KEENE
FRANK C. KING
MR. AND MRS. EUGENE KLECAN
MISS LEONA KOEHLER
HARRY LUNSFORD
MR. AND MRS. WILLIAM LUBY
MR. AND MRS. JOHN MAYER
MR. AND MRS. ROBERT E. McDONNELL
JUDGE GEORGE MONTGOMERY
JOHN F. REINHARDT
SAM SAWYER
HENRY SHEA
R. C. TRELEASE
MRS. BRUCE R. TRIMBLE
E. H. VINCENT
MR. AND MRS. HARRY C. WALTON

It is noted that among the Executive Committee members are Dr. BRUCE TRIMBLE, head of the Political Science Department of the University of Kansas City and HAL LUHNOW, president of William Volker Company. Mr. LUHNOW is a prominent civic leader in Kansas City and during the City Election of April, 1940, he headed the Anti-machine forces that drove the PENDERGAST group out of power in the City Hall. Among the sponsors of the organization are WILLIAM S. HOGSETT, prominent attorney of Kansas City, and Professor WILLIAM LUBY, who is a member of the faculty at the University of Kansas City; also, Judge GEORGE MONTGOMERY, presiding Judge of the Jackson County, Missouri Court.

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On the evening of January 30, 1941, [REDACTED] came to the Kansas City office and turned over a pamphlet published by the America First Committee, 141 West Jackson Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois. [REDACTED] stated he learned that 10,000 of these pamphlets were to be distributed in Kansas City on January 31, 1941. This pamphlet reflects that it is put out by the America First Committee, 141 West Jackson Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois. It is headed as follows: "Are you Willing to Give up Democracy? Do you want to Go to War Without Being Asked? Are You Ready to Make The U. S. A Dictatorship?" The pamphlet then assails the President for attempting to intervene in Europe without consulting Congress or the people. It says that in order to save our Republic each citizen should write his Senators and Congressmen and tell them to oppose the War dictatorship bill.

A copy of the above-described pamphlet is being retained in the Kansas City file.

UNDEVELOPED LEAD:

THE KANSAS CITY FIELD DIVISION:

b2
b7D

AT KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI, will keep in touch with [REDACTED] for the purpose of obtaining developments in regard to the progress of the America First Committee.

- P E N D I N G -

**Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice**

Post Office Box #2344
Boston, Massachusetts

February 20, 1941

Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Re: ⁰ AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
141 West Jackson Boulevard
Chicago, Illinois;
Internal Security

Dear Sir:

I am forwarding herewith one copy of a booklet entitled "Our Foreign Policy" by General ROBERT E. WOOD, which was forwarded to me by [REDACTED] Boston, Massachusetts. *b7c*

Very truly yours,

V. W. Peterson

V. W. PETERSON
Special Agent in Charge

VWP/jf
Enclosure

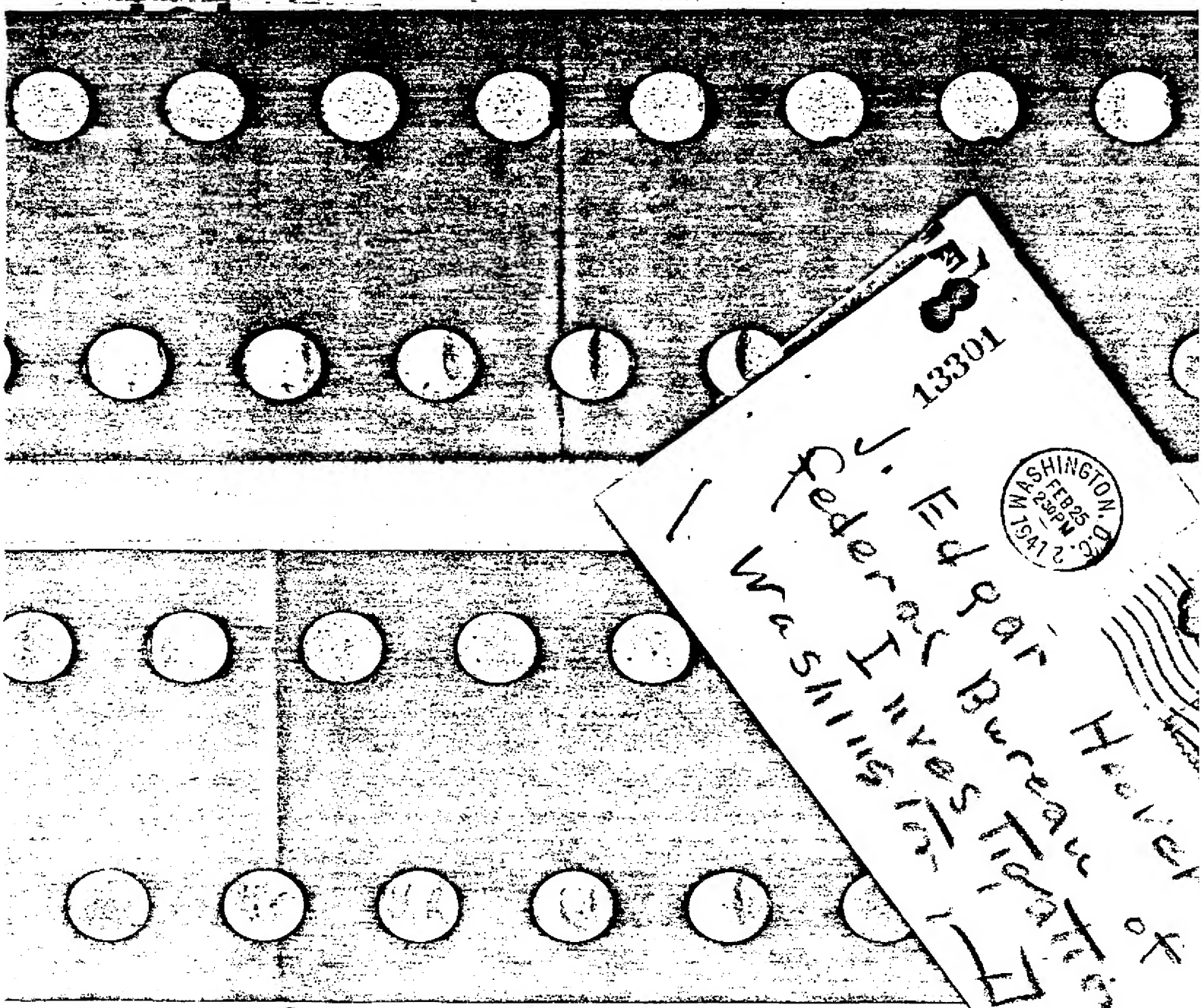
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WASHINGTON, D.C.
FEB 25 1947

Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D.C.

Harriet

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

OFFICIAL BUSINESS

PENALTY FOR PRIVATE USE TO AVOID
PAYMENT OF POSTAGE, \$300

ENCLOSURE TO THE BUREAU FROM BOSTON
MASS RE AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE;
INTERNAL SECURITY

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150-4712-13

Our Foreign Policy

by

GENERAL ROBERT E. WOOD

Acting National Chairman
America First Committee

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 5/6/86 BY SP6 bja/Hcy

Speech before the Chicago Council
on Foreign Relations

b7c

FEB 10 P.M.

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

141 WEST JACKSON BOULEVARD

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

America First Committee Principles

1. The United States must build an impregnable defense for America. With such a defense no foreign power, or group of powers, can successfully attack us.

2. Americans should and do cherish the ideals of democracy and abhor dictatorship, but the welfare of one hundred thirty million Americans and the preservation of democracy on this continent demand that the United States keep out of foreign wars.

3. The cash and carry provisions of the existing Neutrality Act are essential to American peace and security. Within the limits of that Act, Americans may properly aid Great Britain. Aid to her beyond the limitations of the present Neutrality Act would weaken our defense at home, and might well involve us in conflict. We oppose any change in the law which would permit American vessels to enter the combat zone or which would permit the American Navy to convoy merchant ships through that zone, as any such course would inevitably plunge this country into Europe's war.

4. With proper safeguards for the distribution of supplies and the maintenance of our neutrality, Americans should, to the limit of their ability, give humanitarian aid to the suffering and needy people of England and the occupied countries.

Introducing General Wood

By Clay Judson

Former President of the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations

We are at a crisis in our international relations. On the decisions now made by the people of this country and their leaders may depend our national welfare for generations to come.

At earlier meetings you have had presented to you dramatically, brilliantly, emotionally, the views of those who believe that the ideal of American life now demands a full participation in the war between England and Germany, and a willingness to take all the risks of war which that involves.

Now there is another view, equally patriotic, equally above question from the standpoint of ideals—but diametrically opposed in its spiritual and its practical approach to the problem. This view sees America's destiny as the preservation of peace for its 135,000,000 people; the abstention on any account, and no matter how emotional the appeal, from European and Asiatic wars; the maintenance of the processes of democracy and of civilization.

Those who hold this view are certain that we cannot enforce democracy on the rest of the world by force and arms. They believe war will be ruinous to everything we cherish most, and they believe we can avoid war, and should make every effort to do so.

This is the view of the man who addresses you today. He was born sixty-one years ago in the State of Missouri. Forty years ago he graduated from the United States Military Academy at West Point. His first military service was in the Philippine insurrection. As Chief Quartermaster at Panama during the days of the canal construction under General Goethals, he was charged with the duty of acquiring food, clothing, and supplies for the 40,000 employees and officials in the canal zone. During the World War he had a major responsibility for supplying our entire military establishment. After the war, in civil life, his ability gave him immediate recognition in the commercial world, where he served for ten years as President of Sears, Roebuck & Company, and is now the Chairman of its Board of Directors.

For his outstanding services during the World War he was awarded the Distinguished Service Medal. He is a Commander of the British Order of St. Michael & St. George. He is a Knight of the French Legion of Honor. At present he is the Acting Chairman of the America First Committee.

I am honored in presenting to you General Robert E. Wood, who will speak on "Our Foreign Policy."

"Our Foreign Policy"

I hesitated to accept the invitation of my friends, Dr. Lichtenstein and Mr. Utley, to address this gathering for two reasons—first, because I do not feel on a par as a speaker with the very eminent persons who have addressed these gatherings; second, because my views are opposed to those of a probable majority of my listeners—and I may add—opposed to those of some of my dearest friends and relatives. I have a brother-in-law on the William Allen White Committee.

But it is one of the beauties of a democracy that in time of peace, at least, men are free to express their opinions and honest men respect opposing opinions if those opinions are sincere and free of ulterior motive, and now is a time for all honest men to express their convictions.

The Hour of Decision

This country is on the eve of momentous decisions. The results of these decisions may be so far reaching that they may have an effect for good or bad on the life of this country for at least a generation. I am at the stage of life when I do not care as to the effect on myself or my own generation. I do greatly care what the effects will be on my children and grandchildren and their generation.

There are two schools of thought in this country on the subject of our foreign policy. They may be termed "Interventionists" and "Isolationists." These terms are not exactly descriptive, because all interventionists are not extreme interventionists and most isolationists are only isolationists as to Europe and Asia, but not isolationists as to the balance of North America and South America.

I except from my discussion those who have ulterior motives—anything except the welfare of our country. That would include the Communists who really desire to destroy our Government; the Nazis and members of the Bund who put the interests of Germany above those of this country; some ultra-pacifists who forget the interests of their country in their desire for peace at any price; a limited number of extreme Anglophiles who put the interests of Great Britain above those of their own country.

Our Common Ground

These schools of thought are in violent opposition, but there are certain points of agreement among all classes except perhaps what may be called the lunatic fringe of our population.

These points of agreement are:

First—The necessity for a strong defense—a strengthening of our army and navy and air force. Our people are practically unanimous on this subject—the only differences are on differences of detail. It is obvious that the richest nation of the world, in a world of force, must make itself impregnable.

Second—The belief that no foreign nation must obtain possession of any part of the two Americas and that the United States must be prepared to defend the North American continent, and at least that portion of the South American continent as far as the Equator. There is some difference of opinion as to whether military and naval protection should go as far as Cape Horn.

Third—Access to our great industrial plant by Great Britain within the limits of the neutrality law—that is, unlimited right of purchase by Great Britain of planes, tanks, munitions of war, raw materials from private manufacturers, provided she can pay for them and provide her own transportation. And this I may add is a very great aid.

Without this aid now being given, England could not long carry on the war, for her supplies of raw materials, her steel making capacity, munitions and plane plants are insufficient for a long major war. Without the production facilities of the United States she would be crushed. Theoretically, Germany is entitled to the same privilege—actually, on account of the British blockade, she cannot use our facilities, but she has no right to complain. I believe the overwhelming majority of the citizens are in accord with these three principles. I know I am.

Here Differences Begin

But it is when we get beyond the third point that opinion diverges sharply. The present administration in power, probably the majority of our editors and columnists, a very influential body of public opinion as represented by the Committee to Defend America by Aiding Britain is in favor of our government turning over some of our flying fortresses, more destroyers, more planes, and merchant ships. Others, even more extreme, favor an outright alliance with Great Britain and a declaration of war on Germany.

Now what are the fundamental arguments for this point of view? They may be reduced to three principal reasons:

First—The totalitarian state with its ideology, with its record of persecution, is repugnant to our ideals and should be destroyed, even if we have to enter a war to accomplish this result.

Second—Our own protection depends on Britain as our first line of defense, and if she falls, we are exposed to the onslaught of a totalitarian combination. Per se, it follows that we must give England all the aid we can, even at the risk of entering the war.

Third—If Britain is defeated, it will be impossible for a free competitive, unorganized and unmanaged industrial system to compete with a totalitarian system.

War Does Not Destroy Ideologies

As to the first reason, you cannot destroy an ideology by waging war on it. The conditions created in Europe by the Versailles Treaty were largely responsible for the rise of Hitler and the Nazi philosophy. The history of Europe for the last 100 years is a story of cruelties, persecutions, injustices. No government was more repugnant to our ideals and ideas than the old Czaristic regime of Russia—it had over many years a series of pogroms, but we remained on friendly terms with Russia. Up to 1917 we had always remained true to the principles of foreign policy laid down by the founders of our country: the policy of keeping aloof from the quarrels of Europe and Asia.

The Communistic regime of Russia under Lenin and Stalin was equally opposed to our principles and was detested by the majority of our people. Nevertheless, we have maintained our relations with Russia, and we have certainly had no idea of making war on that country.

Sentimentalists or Realists?

A nation cannot be a knight-errant. It must be realistic. Great Britain, during her entire history, has been coldly realistic, and her success in building up her Empire has been due to her realism. As individuals we can give vent to our generous impulses or even to our pet hates, but our statesmen, our editors, our moulders of public opinion must consider that it is not their individual fortunes and lives that are to be considered, but those of 130,000,000 of their fellow citizens.

Now as to the second reason—our military defense in the event of a German victory. Our country has gone through a curious transformation of thought since May 10th. From an underestimate of the military and economic strength of Germany, it has gone to the opposite extreme of overestimating that strength. From some of the remarks heard on the Eastern seaboard in June, we would have thought that New York and Boston were in imminent danger of being bombed.

Bombings Alone Cannot Win

Now the events in Spain, Poland, Belgium and France showed the major importance of the air arm when supported by tanks, infantry and a modern army. But Spain showed that bombing of cities, unsupported by an army, cannot win a war or even shake the morale of a population if the nation is of tough fibre like the Spanish and English peoples.

Apparently the Battle of England is demonstrating the same principle. Unless an army can cross the Channel, the German air force cannot impose a decision on England. Casualties and material damage—yes. The 15,000 casualties in London so far are but a drop in the bucket for a nation of 45,000,000 people; more casualties were incurred in single days of the Verdun, Ypres and Somme offensives. The destruction of apartment houses, stores, public buildings do not constitute a blow to the military strength of a nation. If the docks, railroads, power plants and munitions plants are put out of commission, it does affect the military effort, but unless it is done on a gigantic scale the nation cannot be subdued, and all evidence is to the effect that military damage thus far has not been of such a serious character as to severely impair the island's defense.

Can England Be Invaded?

As for an invasion, at the great risk of being called a false prophet, I doubt whether any invasion will ever be made, and if it is attempted, it will be decisively repulsed. To land 250,000 Germans in England, with mechanized equipment, ammunition and necessary supplies, would be a gigantic operation. Once landed, that force would have to face 1,500,000 Englishmen under arms, fighting on their own island behind strong defenses. And to land those 250,000 Germans means practically complete mastery of the air, blocking off the English fleet, complete control of the Channel—none of which objectives have yet been attained after more than a month of intensive

effort. To sum up, I doubt whether the island can be conquered, and I am quite sure the British fleet cannot be put out of commission.

Now we come to our own danger of invasion and the perfectly fantastic hysteria that pervaded this country after the battle of France. I think any competent military or naval expert, certainly the vast majority, will tell you that there is absolutely no danger of an invasion of the United States even if Germany is completely victorious, and I doubt whether she will be. The amount of shipping required for the transportation of even 250,000 men of a modern mechanized army with their ammunition and supplies over 3,000 miles of ocean is colossal and it is to be presumed that our own navy and air force will not be idle.

No Army Can Attack Us

If it is impracticable or at least exceedingly difficult for an army to cross 25 miles of Channel, what valid grounds are there for supposing that a large army can cross 3,000 miles of ocean to invade a continent?

Some will inquire—why should it not be possible for Germany to seize bases in Mexico or Central America and attack from those countries. Again, that presupposes an overwhelming sea power. But even if that sea power were present, there would again be the same difficulties of a 3,000 mile long line of communication for an invading army. And an army once landed must cross an exceedingly difficult terrain before ever arriving at the Texas border. I think that hypothesis may be safely dismissed.

Panic First—Then War!

Now we come to the favorite bogey—air attacks. I quote from Major Al Williams' recent speech, reprinted in the Congressional Record—"Oceans and extended lines of communications are still vital factors in modern warfare. President Roosevelt's panicky flight schedule for the air invasion of America is ridiculous, worthy of Hollywood and certainly not of the White House. To support my argument against the President's wild flight schedule for a foreign air invasion of the United States I offer a single incontrovertible reason. With all their air power the Germans could not attack and subdue England from air bases 300 to 500 miles distant. Instead they seized air bases on the north coast of Holland, Belgium and France 20 to 100 miles distant from the coast of England. Each and every stage of

the fantastic itinerary for the air invasion of America would have to be conquered for the establishment of major air bases for the enemy attempting the job. The President must know this—but apparently the pattern is panic first, and then war."

An Exhausted Germany Is Harmless

All of this presupposes a completely victorious Germany, ready at the end of a long and costly struggle, to immediately embark on a new and perilous adventure across 3,000 miles of ocean against a nation of 130,000,000 people. The present war represents seven years of preparation on the part of Germany. So-called total war represents a prodigal expenditure of labor, money and effort. Steel is rapidly consumed, aircraft and mechanical equipment are rapidly worn out, reserves of all kinds are exhausted, not to mention the wear and tear on human beings. A nation that for seven years has been given guns instead of butter is apt at the end of this war to demand more butter from its leaders.

So on every count it seems inconceivable to me that Germany at the end of the war, even if aided by its allies, who will be in a worse condition of exhaustion than Germany itself, will attack the United States. And if this country with its 130,000,000 people and its two great natural ocean barriers cannot defend itself unaided by Britain or anybody else, it does not deserve to survive. The great nation that has to trust to others for its defense is on the downward path to destruction.

Europe Must Have Our Goods

Now as to our economic problems. An economic war after the war—the loss of our European, Asiatic and South American trade. I have a high personal regard for Walter Lippmann's brains and ability, but I believe his picture of an unequal contest between a totalitarian economy and a free economy is misleading. After all, when two nations or two continents each have things the other needs trade eventually results regardless of the feelings each may have for the other. Europe needs us more than we need Europe—our materials and products are more important to her than hers to us. True, Germany has reduced largely its purchases from us, but more from necessity than choice. As far as South America is concerned, we can always obtain the lion's share of the trade of Mexico, Central America, Colombia and Venezuela because we buy the metals of Mexico, the coffee and bananas of Central America and Co-

lombia, the oil of Venezuela. In those countries, our geographical location must always give us the edge. We can take the coffee of Brazil but not its cotton; so its trade will naturally divide between Europe and the United States. It is in Argentina and Chile that our troubles come. We cannot take the meat, cotton and wool of the Argentina because we produce those products ourselves. The same applies to the copper and nitrates of Chile. We cannot sell unless we buy and that is a far greater obstacle than all Nazidom.

It must not be forgotten that Germany put on an intensive drive for trade in South America in the period 1936-1938, and if my recollection of the figures is correct, while Germany's percentage of the trade gained somewhat, the gain was not large, and it was largely at the expense of Great Britain; our trade declined only a fraction of one per cent.

We'll Get Our Share of Foreign Trade!

No man can foretell the future, but as long as we have products South America can use and above all, if they have products we can use, we will get our full share of the trade. As for Asia, the same remarks pertain as to Europe. Japan needs us far more than we need her. Our trade with Japan incidentally runs between five and six times the trade of China, whom we are making such great efforts to help. Even if Japan gets control of the Dutch East Indies—and that is not assured—she is going to be more anxious to sell us rubber and tin to obtain dollar exchange than we are to buy the products. And if war with Japan comes, we can get Bolivian tin and develop our synthetic rubber. We are certainly as resourceful as the Germans who are filling 90% of their rubber requirements with the synthetic article.

In 1937 Colombia's trade with us was 168,000,000 pesos, with Germany 40,000,000. Of Venezuela's trade, the United States took 12.5% of their imports and furnished 53% of the exports, Germany 13.6%. Of Costa Rica's imports, 42.5% came from the United States, 23% from Germany. Of her exports 45% went to the United States and 19.5% to Germany.

As for lack of organization, if needs be, we can meet fire with fire; we can set up export cartels and mass purchasing organizations and we can do this without danger to our system.

The Americas Must Stand Together!

Americans like myself feel that our true mission is in North America and South America. We stand today in an unrivalled position. With our resources and organizing ability we can develop, with our Canadian friends, an only partially developed continent like North America and a virgin continent like South America. The reorganization and proper development of Mexico alone would afford an outlet for our capital and energies for some time to come. And while I think we should try in every way to maintain the friendship of our neighbors to the South, I think we should also make it clearly understood that no government in Mexico, Central America and the Caribbean South American countries can be tolerated unless it is friendly to the United States and that we will make every effort to prevent the spread of totalitarian influence there.

Instead of what seems to be a sane objective we are on the verge of throwing our treasure and our blood into a European war, with consequences that no one can foretell.

I respect the honest views of honest Americans, no matter how opposed they may be to my own, but there are two matters that I resent: First is the attempt to smear any one opposed to what I might call the majority publicized viewpoint of what we should do in this war. When the editor of a New York "newspaper" denounces Col. Lindbergh as the head of the Fifth Column in the U. S., we have reached the summit of mud slinging. You may disagree violently with Col. Lindbergh, you may feel he has made serious mistakes, but you have no right to denounce a courageous, patriotic American citizen as a traitor merely because he disagrees with your views. This is as bad as the Nazis, an attempt to suppress freedom of speech.

The other point I resent is the way the issue is being presented to the American people. We are being edged into the war without the masses' knowledge. We have the anomalous situation of the polls showing a majority of the people favoring a course that is bound to get us into the war, while the same polls show 88% of the same people oppose actual entry into the war. That shows that the minds of the people are confused.

How Wars Are Sold to Us

Many of my hearers were adults at the time of the previous war and were familiar with the propaganda that led up to that war. If you want to know the

history of that propaganda and its falsity, read a book by Sir Philip Gibbs with the title of "Now It Can Be Told," in which he admitted the outrageous lies that were perpetrated on the American public. And Sir Philip Gibbs was no German but the leading English war correspondent, knighted by his King. The London Economist in a recent issue said it was only a question of time until American public opinion could be brought to the point where we would actively enter the war.

I believe a majority of the people who are advocating "aid short of war" do not desire us to enter the war. But there are others who do desire us to enter the war, who are taking the necessary steps to prepare the American people for active participation, who would enter it tomorrow if they dared, who are today in practical alliance with England, and unfortunately they are the people who are shaping our national policy today. You hear in Washington today that we are now in the war. You hear predictions from men, and men who ought to know, that we will actively enter the war within sixty days after the election.

The American people should think this matter through. The course we are pursuing is bound to involve us in the war. You cannot play with fire and not get burned. You cannot have your government, not private manufacturers, transfer its equipment to foreign powers, you cannot have your government in an unofficial alliance with a foreign power, you cannot be a meddler in Indo-China, berate Italy and Germany without eventually involving the nation in war, and if war comes I venture to predict that we will repeat the history of the last war. When the declaration of war was made in 1917 originally it was intended to send only the Navy to the assistance of the Allies.

Man-Power, Too!

Joffre came over in the spring of 1917, told the plight of the French Army after the 1917 spring Champagne offensive, where whole divisions of the French Army mutinied, and implored us to send over a token force, otherwise France would collapse. We sent Pershing and the First Division, about 30,000 men. Then came the impending collapse of Russia, frantic calls for more men, then the great German offensive of 1918 and the rout of the British Fifth Army, more frantic appeals, until finally we put under arms 4,000,000 men, sent 2,000,000 men

to France, spent 20 billion dollars and had 150,000 casualties. I need not refer to our treatment by our former allies after the Armistice. They took the loot, we did not even get thanks.

I do not often agree with the editorials on foreign policy in my friend Frank Knox's paper, but there is a recent editorial with which I am in 100% agreement. The editorial quoted two recent speeches by both Presidential candidates in which both pledged themselves never to send American boys to France. The editorial spoke of both these pledges as political bunk and very truly stated that if we entered the war we would enter it to win, and, if necessary to win, we would send an expeditionary force—and that is the absolute truth.

The People Must Know the Truth

The issue should be honestly presented to the people. If we aid Britain, short of war and beyond the limits of the Neutrality Act, it ultimately means war and should mean war. If we enter the war, we must enter it with all our strength in men and money. That is the only way to win a war.

If the military reports from abroad are correct, I feel there is no doubt that Great Britain can defend her island, her dominions like Canada, Australia and New Zealand. She may lose Egypt, the Suez and Gibraltar, though this is extremely doubtful. So far the Italians have shown no signs of real offensive strength. There is little doubt that England can make a negotiated peace by which she can keep her fleet and her colonies, but which will leave Germany the economic control of Western Europe. But she cannot decisively defeat Germany unaided. Her statesmen privately admit that, and say that for her to gain a decisive victory we will have to actively enter the war. One of the great mistakes made by the Allies in this war was that in its first six months they thought they could win a safe economical war, with France sitting behind the Maginot line and England maintaining its blockade, with little expenditure of blood and a minimum expenditure of treasure. For us to actively enter the war means ships, planes, money, men, expeditionary forces. That is the issue that must ultimately be presented to the American people, and it should be presented openly, honestly and squarely.

Our Own Democracy Will Be Sacrificed

In deciding this issue, the American people should face the costs. We start with a debt of \$50,000,000,000. With the enormous cost of waging modern war, the cost of sending forces over 3,000 miles of ocean, of engaging our navy in the Far East, we would ultimately face a debt of from 100 to 150 billions. Victorious or defeated, we will be faced at the conclusion of such a war with great economic dislocations—the rich would face a capital levy, the middle classes impoverishment, and the masses a lowered standard of living and the loss of most of the social gains so far secured.

Competent observers believe that if the war is prolonged in Europe over one or two years, it will result in Communism in all Europe, and a species of National Socialism in England. If we are involved, it probably spells the end of capitalism all over the world.

Defend America First, Last, Always

I would unhesitatingly say to throw everything we have into a war to defend the United States or our own sphere of influence, which is the North American continent and part, if not all, of the South American continent. I do not think the American people should make these sacrifices to interfere in the quarrels of Europe and Asia, old, sick and overpopulated continents with ancient rivalries that cannot be healed. It is up to the American people to decide whether they want to make these sacrifices to preserve not England but the British Empire, and help regulate Europe and Asia. But they should make the decision with all the cards on the table, not misled by artifice and subterfuge.

But if that decision is given affirmatively, I think you will find Americans like myself, who sincerely believe such a course spells disaster to the nation, will be at their posts of duty in the service of this country. I am old fashioned enough to believe in the toast offered by Stephen Decatur back in 1816, "Our Country! In her intercourse with foreign nations, may she always be in the right: but Our Country, right or wrong."

10-4-40

Additional copies of this speech can be obtained from America First Committee, 141 West Jackson Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois.

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

Membership and Contribution Blank

I am a patriotic American citizen and agree with the principles of the America First Committee.

Enroll me as a member.

Name _____

Address _____

I contribute \$_____ to the work of the Committee.
(You do not need to contribute to join the America First Committee.)

Send this application to

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

141 West Jackson Boulevard

Chicago, Illinois

RECEIVED
FEB 26 1941

F.B.I.
U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

SPEAK

A war dictatorship has been introduced in Congress. *5/16/86*

The President would have absolute power to do these things without consulting Congress or the people

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
1010 VERMONT AVE.
N.W. 2425 WASHINGTON, D. C.

1. Cancel the Neutrality Act and send our warships into the war zones.
2. Cancel the Johnson Act and give unlimited funds to foreign nations.
3. Cancel any other law on the statute books.
4. Make military alliances with any nations anywhere in the world.
5. Take us into war whenever, wherever and against whomever he c
6. Give away our Navy to any nation. 13300
7. Give away every gun and bullet in our Army to any nation.
8. Give away every American airplane to any nation.
9. Give away all our military secrets to any nation.
10. Open our harbors and all their facilities to the warships of any n engaged in war.
11. Seize the ships of one country and give them to another country.

ACT NOW!

HERE'S WHAT YOU MUST DO NOW TO SAVE OUR REPUBLIC

ACT NOW

- Telegraph, telephone or write your two Senators; also your Congressman; also Senator Walter F. George, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.
- Tell them you are opposed to the war dictatorship bill, that you want them to fight and vote against it, that you won't stand for compromises, that the whole bill must be killed and thrown out of the Capitol.
- Make a list of all your friends and relatives and get them to do the same.
- Do it immediately.

★

586

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

13297

b7c [REDACTED] February 27, 1941

RECORDED
&
INDEXED

100-4712-14X

~~ORIGINAL AND CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

As of possible interest to you, I am furnishing information pertaining to the activities of [REDACTED] of the America First Committee of Los Angeles, California.

b7c

Respectfully,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Enclosure

SP6 byathey
3/6/86

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. Clegg _____
Mr. E. A. Tamm _____
Mr. Foxworth _____
Mr. Nathan _____
Mr. Ladd _____
Mr. Egan _____
Mr. Glavin _____
Mr. Nichols _____
Mr. Hendon _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Tracy _____
Miss Gandy _____

COPIES DESTROYED

3-27-58
R69

Sealed 2-27-41
6:50 PM
[Signature]

b7c

[REDACTED] 82

50
Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA
February 24, 1941

Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

RE: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE;
INTERNAL SECURITY

Dear Sir: -

b7c On February 12, 1941, [redacted] called at the New Orleans Field Office and furnished the following items pertaining to the America First Committee:

- (1) Blank Membership Card;
- (2) Flyer opposed to H.R. 1776;
- (3) Letter addressed to "Fellow American" signed "R. Douglas Stuart, Jr., National Director";
- (4) Flyer entitled "What Every Citizen Can Do to Defeat the War Bill (No. 1776)";
- (5) A list of all Senators and Representatives.

b7c This material is apparently published by the America First Committee with offices at 141 West Jackson Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois, and although [redacted] is considered to be possibly apsycho-pathic complairant, it is believed this material should be in the possession of the Bureau for its information.

Very truly yours,

A. C. Rutzen
A. C. RUTZEN
Special Agent in Charge

b7c [redacted]
Enclosures 3

RECORDED
&
INDEXED

100-4712-15
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
6 FEB 27 1941
U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE
FIVE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/6/86 BY SP6 bja/ky

ENCLOSURE
[initials]



PRINCIPLES

1. The United States must build an impregnable defense for America. With such a defense no foreign power, or group of powers, can successfully attack us.

2. Americans should and do cherish the ideals of democracy and abhor dictatorship, but the welfare of one hundred thirty million Americans and the preservation of democracy on this continent demand that the United States keep out of foreign wars.

3. The cash and carry provisions of the existing Neutrality Act are essential to American peace and security. Within the limits of that Act Americans may properly aid Great Britain. Aid to her beyond the limitations of the present Neutrality Act would weaken our defense at home, and might well involve us in conflict. We oppose any change in the law which would permit American vessels to enter the combat zone or which would permit the American navy to convoy merchant ships through that zone, as any such course would inevitably plunge this country into Europe's war.

4. With proper safeguards for the distribution of supplies and the maintenance of our neutrality, Americans should, to the limit of their ability, give humanitarian aid to the suffering and needy people of England and the occupied countries.



AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
MEMBERSHIP AND CONTRIBUTION CARD

I am a patriotic American citizen and agree with the principles of the America First Committee. Enroll me as a member.

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

I contribute \$ _____ to the work of the Committee.

(The America First Committee is supported entirely by voluntary contributions of time and money, but you do not need to contribute to join.)

Send this card to

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE, 141 West Jackson Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois

ARE YOU WILLING TO GIVE UP DEMOCRACY?

DO YOU WANT TO GO TO WAR WITHOUT BEING ASKED?

ARE YOU READY TO MAKE THE U.S. A DICTATORSHIP?

THEN SPEAK UP NOW!

**A war dictatorship bill has
been introduced in Congress**

**The President would
have absolute power
to do these things
without consulting
Congress or the people**

1. Cancel the Neutrality Act and send our warships and merchant vessels into the war zones.
2. Cancel the Johnson Act and give unlimited funds to foreign nations.
3. Cancel any other law on the statute books.
4. Make military alliances with any nations anywhere in the world.
5. Take us into war whenever, wherever and against whomever he chooses.
6. Give away our Navy to any nation.
7. Give away every gun and bullet in our Army to any nation.
8. Give away every American airplane to any nation.
9. Give away all our military secrets to any nation.
10. Open our harbors and all their facilities to the warships of any nations engaged in war.
11. Seize the ships of one country and give them to another country.

● The President does not need these powers to help Britain.

**ACT
NOW!**

**HERE'S WHAT YOU MUST DO NOW
TO SAVE OUR REPUBLIC**

**ACT
NOW!**

● Telegraph, telephone or write your two Senators; also your Congressman; also Senator Walter F. George, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Address: Washington, D. C.

● Tell him you are opposed to the war dictatorship bill, that you want them to fight and vote against it, that you won't stand for compromises, that the whole bill must be killed and thrown out of the Capitol.

● Make a list of all your friends and relatives and get them to do the same.

● Do it immediately.

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AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

**11 WEST JACKSON BOULEVARD
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS**

America First Committee

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS ★ 141 WEST JACKSON BOULEVARD ★ CHICAGO

TELEPHONE WABASH 6996

GEN. ROBERT E. WOOD, ACTING CHAIRMAN

R. DOUGLAS STUART, JR., DIRECTOR

J. SANFORD OTIS, TREASURER

National Committee

CHESTER BOWLER

DR. A. J. CARLSON

WILLIAM R. CASTLE

MRS. BENNETT CHAMP CLARK

IRVIN S. COBB

JANET AYER FAIRBANK

JOHN T. FLYNN

BISHOP WILBUR E. HAMMAKER

GEN. THOMAS HAMMOND

JAY C. HORNEL

GEN. HUGH S. JOHNSON

CLAY JUDSON

FLORENCE P. KAHN

KATHRYN LEWIS

ALICE ROOSEVELT LONGWORTH

FRANK O. LOWDEN

HANFORD MACNIDER

THOMAS M. MCCARTEN

RAY MCKAIG

STERLING MORTON

GEORGE M. PEEK

AMOS R. E. PINCHOT

WILLIAM H. REGHERY

EDWARD L. RYERSON, JR.

LOUIS J. TABER

MRS. BURTON K. WHEELER

DR. GEORGE H. WHIPPLE

MAJOR ALFORD J. WILLIAMS

Fellow American:

We deeply believe that your response to this letter will help determine the fate of American democracy.

You are one who has indicated that you want to keep America out of war. You are one who knows that war means dictatorship.

Now we are actually faced with both horrors. A bill is now before Congress (ironically numbered 1776) which would give the President the power to take us into war.

Through this single bill the expressed determination of the American people to avoid war abroad could be thwarted by one man.

The fight to keep out of war and to preserve our democracy is now the fight to defeat this war dictatorship bill -- to defeat it completely and without compromise.

We are enclosing some of the weapons with which this threat to our liberty and security can be fought.

You must act now and keep active during the next few weeks. It may be our last chance.

We ask you to follow the suggestions on the enclosed sheet. And we ask you to send us a contribution immediately. Such a contribution, we believe, will be the greatest investment you have ever made -- an investment in American democracy.

Yours for action,

R. Douglas Stuart Jr.
R. Douglas Stuart Jr.
National Director

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5-6-86 BY SP-6 BJA/Hcy

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

National Headquarters

141 West Jackson Boulevard

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

What Every Citizen Can Do To Defeat the War Bill [No. 1776]

REMEMBER: This bill CAN be defeated if you will
make your voice heard in Washington immediately.

These Are the Men Who Must Hear From You ...

- 1—Your two Senators *X wrote them*
- 2—The President
- 3—Your Congressman
- 4—Senator Walter F. George, Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

How You Can Reach Them ...

- 1—Send telegrams
- 2—Write letters or postcards
- 3—Telephone. Yes! Phone your Senators in Washington. Ask to speak to them PERSONALLY. Tell them why you want them to vote against the bill. Ask them how they are going to vote. Just give long distance the names of your Senators and say you want to speak to them in Washington.

How You Can Get Others to Act ...

- 1—Make a list of all the men and women you know—friends, relatives, neighbors—and get them to do exactly what you are doing. (Get at least 10 as your minimum goal).
- 2—Urge organizations of which you are a member to pass resolutions against the bill and invite speakers to describe its dangers. (Rotary, Kiwanis, Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A., Etc.)
- 3—Write letters to the editors of your local newspapers, also to the editors of magazines you read, also to the Washington political columnists you read. Write your radio commentators in care of your local station, or the network.

What Else You Can Do ...

- 1—Become active in the local Chapter of the America First Committee.
- 2—If there is no local chapter, now is the time to get together with like-minded citizens and organize one. Write immediately for further details.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/6/86 BY SP6bjal/ky

Democracy in Action

If you want to keep America out of war, let your officials know about it. Write or wire today and every week to your two Senators, your Representative, the Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee (Senator Walter F. George), the Chairman of the House Foreign Relations Committee (Representative Sol Bloom), and to the President. Also write your newspaper editor.

Get your friends and neighbors to write.

You can get the number of your Congressional District from your City Hall, local Post Office, local Western Union or Postal Telegraph Office, or the local chapter of the America First Committee.

Here is a list of all Senators and Representatives. Yours is among them. The members of the Senate and House Foreign Relations Committees have an asterisk (*) in front of their names. Senators should be addressed: Senate Office Building. Representatives should be addressed: House Office Building.

Cong. Dist.	ALABAMA	Cong. Dist.	CONNECTICUT (Cont.)	Cong. Dist.	ILLINOIS (Cont.)	Cong. Dist.	LOUISIANA (Cont.)
	Senators: John L. Danaher Lester Hill		At-Large: Lucien L. Alciore	18	William Howard Wheat	1	F. Edward Hebert
	Representatives: 1 Frank William Boykin	1	Herman Kopplemann	20	James M. Barnes	2	T. Hale Boggs
2	George McInvale Grant	2	William J. Fitzgerald	21	Evan Howell	3	James Domengeaux
3	Henry Bascom Steagall	3	*James A. Shanley	22	Edwin Martin Schaefer	4	Overton Brooks
4	Sam Hobbs	4	Leroy D. Downs	23	*Laurence F. Arnold	5	Newt V. Mills
5	Joe Starnes	5	J. Joseph Smith	24	James V. Heidinger	6	Jared Y. Sanders
6	*Pete Jarman		DELAWARE	25	C. W. Bishop	7	Vance Plauche
7	Walter W. Bankhead		Senators:		INDIANA	8	A. Leonard Allen
8	John J. Sparkman		James M. Tunnell		Senators:		MAINE
9	Luther Patrick		James H. Hughes		*Frederick Van Nuys		Ralph O. Brewster
	ARIZONA		Representative-At-Large:		Raymond E. Willis		Wallace Humphrey White, Jr.
	Senators:		Phillip A. Traynor		Representatives:		Representatives:
	Ernest W. McFarland		FLORIDA	1	William Theodore Schulte	1	James Churchill Oliver
	Cari Hayden		Senators:	2	Charles A. Halleck	2	Margaret Chase Smith
	Representative-At-Large:		Charles O. Andrews	3	Robert A. Grant	3	Frank Fellows
	John R. Murdock		*Claude Pepper	4	George W. Gillie		MARYLAND
	ARKANSAS		Representatives:	5	Forest Arthur Harness		Senators:
	Senators:		1 James Hardin Peterson	6	Noble J. Johnson		Millard E. Tydings
	Hattie W. Caraway		2 Robert Lex Green	7	Gerald W. Landis		George L. Radcliffe
	John E. Miller		3 *Robert Sikes	8	John William Boehne, Jr.		Representatives:
	Representatives:		4 Pat Cannon	9	Earl Wilson	1	David J. Ward
1	Ezekiel Candler Gathings		5 Joe Hendricks	10	Raymond Smiley Springer	2	William Purington Cole, Jr.
2	Wilbur D. Mills		GEORGIA	11	William Henry Larrabee	3	Thomas D'Alessandro, Jr.
3	Clyde Taylor Ellis		Senators:	12	Louis Leon Ludlow	4	John A. Meyer
4	Fadjo Cravens		*Walter Franklin George		IOWA	5	Lansdale G. Sussner
5	David Dickson Terry		Richard B. Russell, Jr.		Senators:	6	William Devereux Byron
6	William F. Norrell		Representatives:		*Guy Mark Gillette		MASSACHUSETTS
7	Oren Harris		1 Hugh Peterson		Clyde LaVerne Herring		Senators:
	CALIFORNIA		2 Edward Eugene Cox		Representatives:		David I. Walsh
	Senators:		3 Stephen Pace	1	Thomas Ellsworth Martin		Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr.
	*Hiram W. Johnson		4 Albert Sidney Camp	2	William Sebastian Jacobsen		Representatives:
	Sheridan Downey		5 Robert Ramspeck	3	John W. Gwynne	1	Allen Towner Treadway
	Representatives:		6 Carl Vinson	4	Henry O. Talle	2	Charles Russell Clason
1	Clarence Frederick Lea		7 Malcolm Connor Tarver	5	Karl Miles LeCompte	3	Joseph E. Casey
2	Harry Lane Eglebright		8 John S. Gibson	6	Paul H. Cunningham	4	Pehr G. Holmes
3	Frank H. Buck		9 B. Frank Wheelchel	7	Ben Franklin Jensen	5	*Edith Nourse Rogers
4	Thomas Rolph		10 Paul Brown	8	Fred C. Gilchrist	6	George Joseph Bates
5	Richard J. Welch		IDAHIO	9	Vincent F. Harrington		Lawrence J. Connery
6	John E. Carter		Senators:		KANSAS		Arthur Daniel Healey
7	John H. Tolan		J. Worth Clark		Senators:	8	Thomas H. Eliot
8	John Z. Anderson		John Thomas		*Arthur Capper	9	*George Holden Tinkham
9	Bertrand W. Gearhart		Representatives:		Clyde Martin Reed	10	Thomas A. Flaherty
10	Alfred J. Elliott		1 Compton I. White		Representatives:	11	John W. McCormack
11	Carl Hinshaw		2 Henry C. Dworshak		1 William Purnell Lamberton	12	Richard B. Wigglesworth
12	Jerry Voorhis		ILLINOIS		2 Ulysses Samuel Guyer	13	Joseph William Martin, Jr.
13	Charles Kramer		Senators:		3 Thomas D. Winter	14	Charles L. Gifford
14	Thomas Francis Ford		Scott W. Lucas		4 Edward H. Rees		MICHIGAN
15	John Martin Costello		C. Wayland Brooks		5 John M. Houston		Senators:
16	Leland M. Ford		Representatives:		6 Frank Carlson		*Arthur H. Vandenberg
17	Lee E. Geyer		At-Large: William G. Stratton		7 Clifford R. Hope		Prentiss M. Brown
18	Ward Johnson		Stephen A. Day		KENTUCKY		Representatives:
19	Harry R. Sheppard		1 Arthur W. Mitchell		Senators:	1	Rudolph G. Tenerowicz
20	*Edouard V. M. Izac		2 Raymond S. McKeough		*Alben William Barkley	2	Earl Cory Michener
	COLORADO		3 Edward A. Kelly		Albert Benjamin Chandler	3	Paul W. Shafer
	Senators:		4 Harry P. Beam		Representatives:	4	Clare E. Hoffman
	Alva Blanchard Adams		5 Adolph J. Sabath		*Noble Jones Gregory	5	*Bartel J. Jonkman
	Edwin Carl Johnson		6 Anton F. Maciejewski		Beverly Mills Vincent	6	William W. Blackney
	Representatives:		7 Leonard W. Schuets		Enmet O'Neal	7	Jesse Paine Wolcott
1	Lawrence Lewis		8 Leo Kocialkowski		Edward Wester Creal	8	Fred L. Crawford
2	William S. Hill		9 Charles S. Dewey		Brent Spence	9	Albert J. Engel
3	J. Edgar Chenoweth		10 George A. Paddock		Virgil Chapman	10	Roy Orchard Woodruff
4	Edward Thomas Taylor		11 Chauncey W. Reed		Andrew Jackson May	11	Fred Bradley
	CONNECTICUT		12 Noah Morgan Mason		Joe B. Bates	12	Frank E. Hook
	Senators:		13 Leo Elwood Allen		John Marshall Robison	13	George D. O'Brien
	Francis T. Maloney		14 Anton J. Johnson		LOUISIANA	14	Louis Charles Rabaut
	John A. Danaher		15 *Robert Bruce Chipfield		Senators:	15	John D. Dingell
			16 Everett McKinley Durksen		John Holmes Overton	16	John Lesinski
			17 Leslie C. Arends		Allen Joseph Ellender	17	George Anthony Dondero

(OVER)

Comp. Dist. MINNESOTA
Senators:
*Heurik Shipstead
Joseph Ball
Representatives:
1 August Herman Andresson
2 Joseph P. O'Hara
3 Richard P. Gale
4 Melvin J. Maas
5 Oscar Youngdahl
6 Harold Knutson
7 H. Carl Anderson
8 William Alvin Pittenger
9 Richard Thompson Buckler

MISSISSIPPI

Senators:
*Pat Harrison
Theodore Gilmore Bilbo
Representatives:
1 John Elliott Rankin
2 Wall Doxy
3 William Madison Whittington
4 Aaron Lane Ford
5 Rose A. Collins
6 William Meyers Colmer
7 Dan R. McGehee

MISSOURI

Senators:
*Bennett Champ Clark
Harry S. Truman
Representatives:
1 *Wm. A. Rorer
2 Richard M. Duncan
3 Charles Jasper Bell
4 Joseph B. Shannon
5 Phil A. Bennett
6 Dewey Short
7 Clyde Williams
8 Clarence Cannon
9 Orville Zimmerman
10 John B. Sullivan
11 Walter Kloeser
12 John C. Cochran

MONTANA

Senators:
Burton Kendall Wheeler
*James E. Murray
Representatives:
1 Jeanette Rankin
2 James Francis O'Connor

NEBRASKA

Senators:
George W. Norris
Hugh A. Butler
Representatives:
1 Oren S. Copeland
2 Charles F. McLaughlin
3 Karl Stefan
4 Carl T. Curtis
5 Harry Buffington Coffee

NEVADA

Senators:
Berkeley L. Bunker
Patrick A. (Pat) McCarran
Representative-At-Large:
James Graves Scruggam

NEW HAMPSHIRE

Senators:
*Charles D. Briggs
Charles William Tobey
Representatives:
1 Arthur Byron Jenks
2 *Foster Stearns

NEW JERSEY

Senators:
William H. Smathers
W. Warren Barbour
Representatives:
1 Charles A. Wolverton
2 Elmer H. Wene
3 William H. Sutphin
4 D. Lane Powers
5 *Charles Aubrey Eaton
6 Donald H. McLean
7 J. Parnell Thomas
8 Gordon Canfield
9 Frank C. Osmer, Jr.
10 Fred A. Hartley, Jr.
11 Albert Lincoln Vreeland
12 Robert Winthrop Kean
13 Mary Teresa Norton
14 Edward J. Hart

NEW MEXICO

Senators:
Carl A. Hatch
Dennis Chavez
Representative-At-Large:
Clinton P. Anderson

Comp. Dist. NEW YORK
Senators:
*Robert F. Wagner
Jam. Mead
Representatives:
At-Large: Matthew J. Merritt
Caroline O'Day
1 Leonard W. Hall
2 William B. Barry
3 *Joseph L. Pfeiffer
4 Thomas H. Cullen
5 James H. Heffernan
6 Andrew L. Somers
7 John J. Delaney
8 Donald L. O'Toole
9 Eugene J. Keogh
10 Emanuel Celler
11 James A. O'Leary
12 Samuel Dickstein
13 Louis J. Caposoli
14 M. Michael Edelstein
15 Michael Joseph Kennedy
16 William T. Pfeiffer
17 Kenneth F. Simpson
18 Martin J. Kennedy
19 *Sol Bloom
20 Vito Marcantonio
21 Joseph A. Gavanagh
22 Walter A. Lynch
23 Charles A. Buckley
24 James M. Fitzpatrick
25 Ralph Abernethy Gamble
26 *Hamilton Fish

27 William Thomas Byrne
28 E. Harold Cluett
29 Frank Crowther
30 Clarence E. Kilburn
31 Francis D. Cullin
32 Fred J. Douglas
33 Edwin Arthur Hall
34 Clarence E. Hancock
35 John Taber
36 W. Sterling Cole
37 Joseph J. O'Brien
38 James W. Wadsworth
39 Walter Gresham Andrews
40 Alfred E. Beiter
41 Pius L. Schwert
42 Daniel Alden Reed

NORTH CAROLINA

Senators:
Josiah William Bailey
*Robert Rice Reynolds
Representatives:
1 Herbert C. Bonner
2 John Hosea Kerr
3 Graham Arthur Barden
4 Harold Dunbar Cooley
5 Alonzo Dillard Folger
6 Carl Thomas Durham
7 J. Bayard Clark
8 *William Olin Burgin
9 Robert L. Doughton
10 A. L. Bulwinkle
11 Zebulon Weaver

NORTH DAKOTA

Senators:
William Langer
*Gerald P. Nye
Representatives-At-Large:
Usher L. Burdick
Charles Robertson

OHIO

Senators:
Harold H. Burton
Robert Alphonso Taft
Representatives:
At-Large: George H. Bender
Stephen M. Young
1 Charles H. Elston
2 William E. Hess
3 Greg Holbrook
4 Robert Franklin Jones
5 Cliff Clevenger
6 *Jacob E. Davis
7 Clarence J. Brown
8 Frederick C. Smith
9 John F. Hunter
10 Thomas A. Jenkins
11 Harold K. Claypool
12 *John M. Vorys
13 A. D. Baumhart, Jr.
14 Dow W. Harter
15 Robert Thompson Seecrest
16 William R. Thom
17 J. Harry McGregor
18 Laurence E. Inghoff
19 Michael Joseph Kirwan
20 Martin L. Sweeney
21 Robert Crosser
22 *Frances P. Bolton

Senators:
Elmer Thomas
Josh Lee
Representatives:
At-Large: Will Rogers
1 Wesley Ernest Disney
2 Jack Nichols
3 Wilburn Cartwright
4 Lyle H. Boren
5 A. S. Mike Monroney
6 Jed Johnson
7 Sam C. Massingale
8 Ross Risley

OREGON

Senators:
Charles L. McNary
Rufus C. Holman
Representatives:
1 James W. Mott
2 Walter Marcus Pierce
3 Homer D. Angell

PENNSYLVANIA

Senators:
James John Davis
*Joseph F. Guffy
Representatives:
1 Leon Sacks
2 James P. McGranery
3 Michael J. Bradley
4 John Edward Sheridan
5 Francis B. Smith
6 Hugh D. Scott, Jr.
7 James Wolfenden
8 Charles L. Gerlach
9 J. Roland Kinser
10 Patrick J. Boland
11 J. Harold Flannery
12 Ivor D. Fenton
13 Guy L. Moser
14 Albert G. Rutherford
15 Robert F. Rich
16 J. William Ditter
17 Richard M. Simpson
18 John Crain Kunkel
19 Benjamin Jarrett
20 Francis E. Walter
21 Harry L. Haines
22 James E. Van Zandt
23 John Buell Snyder
24 Charles I. Faddis
25 Louis Edward Graham
26 Harve Tibbott
27 Augustine B. Kelley
28 Robert Lewis Rodgers
29 Thomas E. Scanlon
30 Samuel A. Weiss
31 *Herman P. Eberharter
32 Joseph A. McArdle
33 James A. Wright

RHODE ISLAND

Senators:
Peter G. Gerry
*Theodore Francis Green
Representatives:
1 Aime J. Forand
2 John E. Fogarty

SOUTH CAROLINA

Senators:
Ellison DuRant Smith
*James Francis Byrne
Representatives:
1 L. Mendel Rivers
2 Hampton Pitts Fulmer
3 Butler B. Hare
4 Joseph Raleigh Bryson
5 *James Prioleau Richards
6 John L. McMillan

SOUTH DAKOTA

Senators:
William John Bulow
Chan Gurney
Representatives:
1 *Karl E. Mundt
2 Francis Case

TENNESSEE

Senators:
Kenneth McKellar
Tom Stewart
Representatives:
1 Brazilla Carrol Reece
2 John Jennings, Jr.
3 Estes Kefauver
4 Albert Arnold Gore
5 J. Percival Priest
6 *Wirt Courtney
7 Herron Pearson
8 Jere Cooper
9 Clifford Davis

Senators:
Morris Sheppard
*Tom Connally
Representatives:
1 Wright Patman
2 Martin Dies
3 Lindley Beckworth
4 Sam Rayburn
5 Hatton W. Sumners
6 *Luther A. Johnson
7 Nat Patton
8 Albert Thomas
9 Joseph Jefferson Mansfield
10 Lyndon Baines Johnson
11 William Robert Pomeroy
12 Fritz Garland Lanham
13 Ed Gossett
14 Richard M. Kleberg
15 Milton H. West
16 Robert Ewing Thomason
17 Sam Russell
18 Eugene Worley
19 George H. Mahon
20 Paul J. Kilday
21 Charles L. South

UTAH

Senators:
Abe Murdock
*Elbert Duncan Thomas
Representatives:
1 Walter K. Granger
2 I. W. Robinson

VERMONT

Senators:
Warren Robinson Austin
George D. Aiken
Representative-At-Large:
Charles Albert Plumley

VIRGINIA

Senators:
*Carter Glass
Harry Flood Byrd
Representatives:
1 Schuyler Otis Bland
2 Colgate Whitehead Darden, Jr.
3 Dave E. Satterfield, Jr.
4 Patrick Henry Drewry
5 Thomas G. Burch
6 Clifton Alexander Woodrum
7 A. Willis Robertson
8 Howard Worth Smith
9 John W. Flannagan, Jr.

WASHINGTON

Senators:
Homer Truett Bone
Mon. C. Wallgren
Representatives:
1 Warren G. Magnuson
2 Henry M. Jackson
3 Martin F. Smith
4 Knute Hill
5 Charles E. Leavy
6 John Main Coffee

WEST VIRGINIA

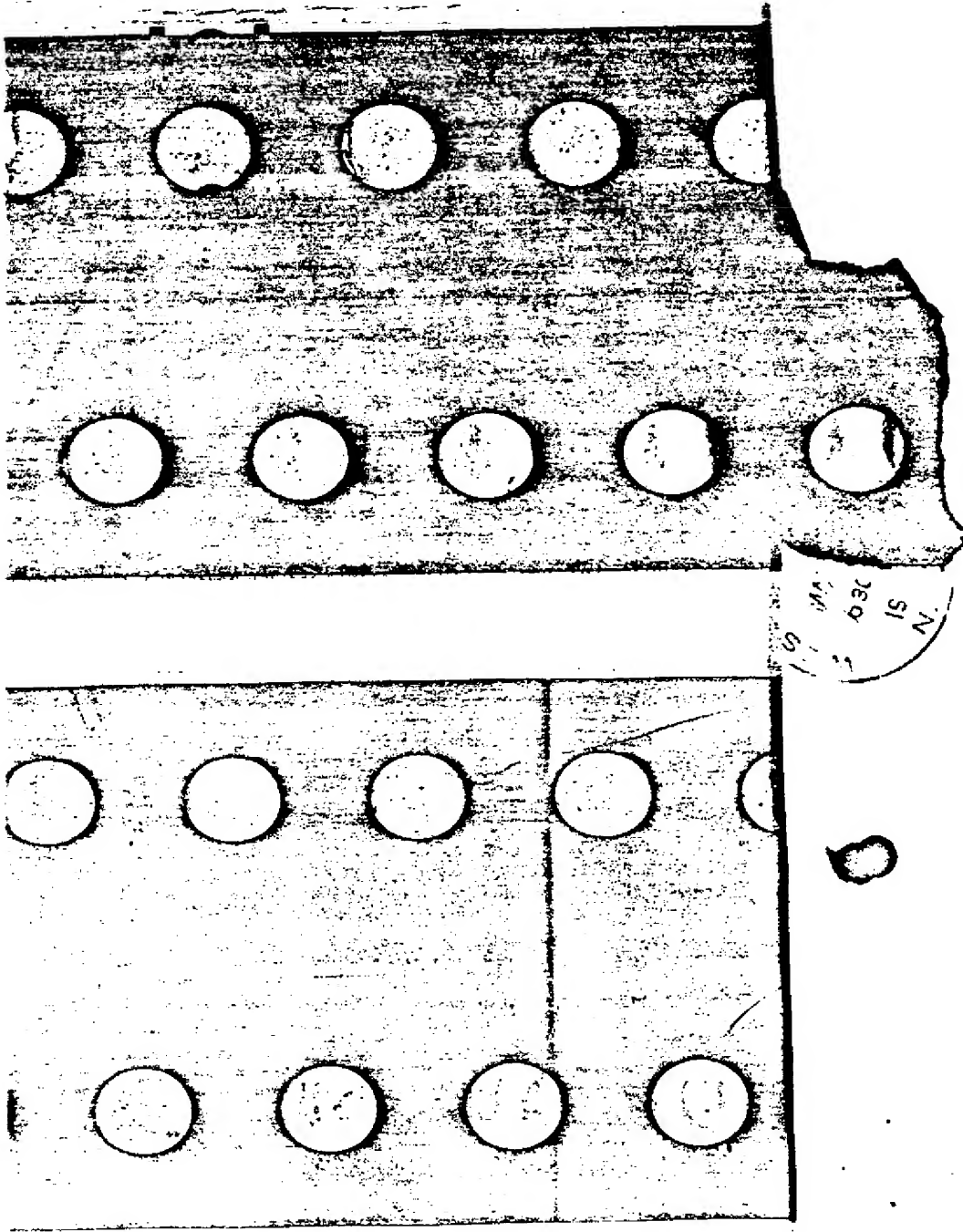
Senators:
Matthew M. Neely
Harley M. Kilgore
Representatives:
1 Robert L. Ramsey
2 Jennings Randolph
3 Andrew Edmiston
4 George William Johnson
5 *John Kee
6 Joe L. Smith

WISCONSIN

Senators:
*Robert M. LaFollette, Jr.
Alexander Wiley
Representatives:
1 Stephen Boileau
2 Harry Sauthoff
3 William H. Stevenson
4 *T. F. B. Wasielowski
5 Lewis D. Thill
6 Frank Bateman Keefe
7 Reid F. Murray
8 Joshua Leroy Johns
9 Merlin Hull
10 Bernard J. Gehrmann

WYOMING

Senators:
Joseph C. O'Mahoney
Harry H. Schwartz
Representative-At-Large:
John J. McIntyre



Honorable President

Franklin D. Roosevelt

"The White House"

Washington, D.C.

FREE PAID 10 CENTS

Los Angeles 4/21/41
5/6/83 56 by Kelley Conf #23

Dear Mr Hoover:-

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10-1-85 BY SP7mac
12/1/83

The following may be
How to get the lowdown on a lot of
Nazi + communist 5th columnists
who may be ready to sabotage our
defense industry. The enclosed
clipping gave me this idea.

How about having a flock
of F.B.I. agents planted at one or
several of these America First Com
mittees where Burton K. Wheeler or
Walter H. Wood presides and also Gerald
L. Stutz at a certain crucial
moment have one of your selected
men get up and shout
for Adolph Hitler" Many
Nazi + communist front
get up + shout + cheer and

RECORDED & INDEXED

100-4712-
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
3 FEB 26 1941
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Oct 5-11-41

b7c

fore it was

**President's Name
Booed and Hissed**

NEW YORK, Feb. 20. (AP)—The names of supporters of the British aid bill, including President Roosevelt, were booed and hissed tonight at a mass meeting at which Senator Burton K. Wheeler (D.) Mont. and Senator Gerald P. Nye (R.) N.D., asserted passage of the bill would mean almost immediate involvement of this country in war.

The audience at the meeting, sponsored by the America First Committee and the Keep America Out of War Congress, was described as "un-American" in a statement issued at its conclusion by Dr. Frank Kingdon and Herbert Bayard Swope, chairman and vice-chairman, respectively, of the New York chapter of the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies. Their committee supports the bill.

"This audience booed and hissed every mention of the names of President Roosevelt, Wendell L. Willkie and other American spokesmen, yet not a murmur of disapproval was evidenced when one speaker referred to Hitler, Mussolini and Stalin," Dr. Kingdon and Swope said in a joint statement.

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DATE 10-1-85 BY SP7mac
5/6/86 E. S. G. by key
conf # 262359

b7c

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RECORDED

March 12, 1941

b7c

Los Angeles, California

5/6/86 Sp6 bja/ky Comp # 2359
1st INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 9/1/85 BY SP7MAC/pt
4241193

b7c Dear

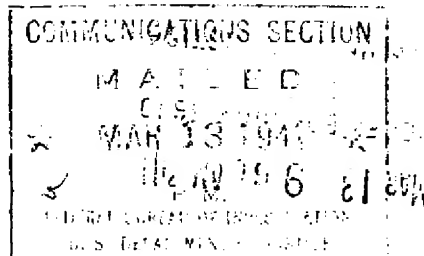
I wish to acknowledge receipt of your letter dated February 21, 1941, with enclosure, and to thank you for your courtesy and interest in writing to this Bureau.

You may be assured the content of your communication and its enclosure has been made a matter of official record at the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. E. A. Tamm _____
Mr. Clegg _____
Mr. Foxworth _____
Mr. Nathan _____
Mr. Ladd _____
Mr. Glavin _____
Mr. Nichols _____
Mr. Hendon _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Tracy _____
Miss Gandy _____



b7c

THIS COMMUNICATION
AND ENVELOPE ARE ATTACHED

Honorable President: 3/1/41.

Enclosed please find a card
which I have just received,
and as an American Citizen
I feel it is my duty, to let you
know of this, as perhaps
it would be of interest to
you.

kindest regards and may
God bless you and yours.

ENCL
1/22/41

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION	
5	6 1941
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE	

FILE
b7c

WILL YOU DO YOUR PART TODAY?

Senator Wheeler tells us the Lend-Lease War Bill
CAN be defeated IF Senators are deluged NOW
with more letters against the Bill.

H. R. 1776 MUST NOT PASS!

It will let our men be sent to fight in Europe
and Asia notwithstanding the provision in the
Draft Act to keep them here for defense of
the Western Hemisphere.

Write again and again!

Get others to write!

(See other side)

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE 49 East 53 Street, N.Y.C.

(Help distribute these cards — \$1 a hundred)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 5/6/86 BY SP6 bja/Hcy

100-2912-17

100-4712-17X

Mr. Tolson.....
Mr. E. A. Tamm.....
Mr. Clegg.....
Mr. Foxworth.....
Mr. Nathan.....
Mr. Ladd.....
Mr. Glavin.....
Mr. Nichols.....
Mr. Hendon.....
Mr. Rosen.....
Mr. Tracy.....
Miss Gandy.....

March 3, 1941

MEMORANDUM

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

File

Information has been received by the Bureau as of February 10, 1941, from an unknown outside source that John L. Wheeler, a Los Angeles attorney, son of Senator Wheeler, has recently been named head of the Los Angeles section of the America First Committee

[REDACTED]

b7C

It is further reported by this source that the wife of Senator Wheeler is one of the Board of Directors of the America First Committee.

[REDACTED]

b7C

The same informant has also advised that the America First Committee is now using Harry Elmer Barnes as a lecturer, who is talking against the Lend-Lease Bill. Harry Barnes is reported to be one of the editorial sponsors of the Socialist Party's anti-British newsletter. Uncensored

[REDACTED]

b7C

100-4712-17

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

MAR 24 1941

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FIVE

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DATE 5/6/86 BY SP6 bja/tcy

13290

1941

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

The America First Committee was incorporated under the Not for Profit Laws of the State of Illinois on September 19, 1940. The purposes of the Committee, as outlined in its charter, are to encourage and maintain in the United States of America:

- 1 - Peace and the Democratic ideal.
- 2 - A program of adequate defense.
- 3 - In furtherance of peace on this continent, a policy of nonintervention in the affairs of other continents; and to encourage the giving of help to refugees and the needy in other lands in so far as such help does not endanger the maintenance of peace in the United States.

The America First Committee has advertised itself elsewhere as being a

"nonpartisan organization of loyal and patriotic American citizens who believe:

- 1 - The United States must build an impenetrable national defense.
- 2 - No foreign power nor group of powers can ever successfully invade a prepared America.
- 3 - Our Government's sending more of its own ships, planes and materials of war to a belligerent overseas, dangerously weakens our defense at home and threatens to involve America in war abroad.

100-4712-1

MAR 4

#248,563

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

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DATE 9/13/84 BY SP-6 BJA/RBG

56-86 SP6 bja/ttey Conf# 262359

Delivered to Mr. R. W. Steele

3-8-76

Per FOIA request

COPIES DESTROYED

3-27-58

Serial 14
SNIF FM
1 ENCL. FM

- Mr. Tolson _____
- Mr. E. A. Tamm _____
- Mr. Clegg _____
- Mr. Foxworth _____
- Mr. Nathan _____
- Mr. Ladd _____
- Mr. Glavin _____
- Mr. Nichols _____
- Mr. Hendon _____
- Mr. Rosen _____
- Mr. Tracy _____
- Miss Gandy _____

"4 - Our American Democratic liberties can only be preserved by keeping out of foreign war - in Europe or in Asia."

The National Headquarters of the America First Committee is located at 1806 Board of Trade Building, Chicago, Illinois. A local headquarters is maintained in Washington, D. C. at 1010 Vermont Avenue, Northwest,

There is a total of 386 local chapters and affiliated units of the America First Committee throughout the United States. The following persons constitute the Officers of the local chapter in Washington, D. C.:

Chairman	- Mrs. Bennett Champ Clark
Secretary	- Mrs. Frank Siroons
Treasurer	- Mrs. Burton K. Wheeler (Mrs. Frank West)
Membership Committee	- (Pete Macias) (Edil Hurja)
Finance Committee	(Mrs. Edil Hurja) - (Clarence Newsa) (Katrina McCormack Barnes.)

Among those who have participated actively in the work of the America First Committee are the following:

Edwin S. Webster, Jr.,
Senior member of the Wall
Street firm of Kidder,
Peabody and Company
Colonel Theodore Roosevelt
Dorothy Dunbar Bromley
John T. Flynn
Archibald F. Roosevelt
Amos E. R. Pinchot
Mrs. Bennett Champ Clark
Dorothy Detzer, head of the
Women's International League for
Peace and Freedom.

13292

William R. Castle, former
Under Secretary of State.

The Washington Chapter of the America First Committee sponsored a mass meeting in the National Theatre on Sunday, January 26, 1941. The speakers on the program were listed as follows:

John T. Flynn	- columnist, lecturer and economist
Mrs. Robert A. Taft	- wife of the Ohio Senator
Philip La Follette	- former Governor of Wisconsin.

It is reported that Mrs. C. H. Robertson is the Chairman of the Hyde Park, New York, Chapter of the America First Committee. She has announced that a house-to-house canvass is being made to obtain signatures demanding the defeat of legislation now pending in Congress calculated to aid Great Britain.

It is also reported that Chapter Chairmen of the America First Committee met in Washington, D. C. on February 21, 1941, to discuss plans for a final drive to defeat legislation now pending in Congress to aid Great Britain. The announced purpose of this meeting was to devise means of urging voters to write their Senators and Congressmen in opposition to pending legislation.

The following is a list of the Officers and Directors of the America First Committee with a background as to each individual:

Acting Chairman - GENERAL ROBERT E. WOOD,
925 S. Woman Avenue,
Chicago, Illinois; graduate
of West Point and served many
years as officer in the U. S.
Army; presently Chairman of
the Board of Directors of Sears
Roebuck and Company.

✓ National Director and Secretary - R. DOUGLAS STUART, JR.,
141 W. Jackson Blvd.,
Chicago, Illinois; graduate
of Yale University and studied
three years in the Yale Law
School before terminating his
study to become associated
with the America First Committee;
is the son of R. Douglas Stuart
of the Quaker Oats Company.

Treasurer - J. SANFORD OTIS, Vice-President
of the Central Republic Bank of
Chicago.

Board of Directors

HANFORD MAC NIDER - Mason City, Iowa; presently a
banker; former National Com-
mander of the American Legion;
former Assistant Secretary of
War, 1925 to 1928; served with
the United States Army in France
during the World War and was
promoted to Lieutenant Colonel
on May 6, 1919; received Croix
de Guerre - five citations; also
connected with various civic
organizations.

GENERAL THOMAS
HARRISON - Retired U. S. Army Officer;
- president of Whiting Corporation,
manufacturers of cranes and
foundry equipment, Harvey,
Illinois; served with U. S. Army
in World War; chairman of
Republican Party in Illinois.

J. C. /HORNEL

- Formerly with George A. Hornel and Company, Packers, Austin, Minnesota.

CLAY /JURSON

- Attorney, 120 West Adams Street, Chicago, Illinois; associated with the law firm of Wilson and McIlvaine; former president of Chicago Council of Foreign Relationships; member of Board of Trustees of United Charities, Chicago, and president of Board of Trustees, Frances Parker School, Chicago, which is a well-known private school.

In addition to the above Officers, the following are Members of the America First Committee:

DR. ANTON JULIUS
CARLSON

- Professor of University of Chicago; reported to be an international pacifist; has studied in Moscow, U.S.S.R.; considered an extreme liberal; was a Lieutenant Colonel in the Sanitary Corps, U. S. Army in 1917 and was with the American Expeditionary Forces from March to September, 1919.

WILLIAM R. /CASTLE,
JR.

- Former Assistant Secretary of State; former Ambassador to Japan.

IRVIN S. /COBB

- Nationally known speaker and author.

- JANET AYER FAIRBANKS - Active in cause of women suffrage and politics; former member of the Executive Committee of the Democratic National Committee; was a member of the Women's National Liberty Loan Committee during the World War; has written several books.
- JOHN T. FLYNN - Noted economist and writer; wrote "Country Squire in the White House."
- HENRY FORD - Automobile manufacturer.
- GENERAL HUGH S. JOHNSON - Nationally known retired Army officer.
- ALICE ROOSEVELT LONGWORTH - Daughter of the late President Theodore Roosevelt.
- THOMAS N. McCARTER - Attorney General of New Jersey, 1902 to 1907, which post he resigned to become president of the Public Service Corporation of New Jersey, which operates and controls nearly all of the gas, electric and transportation utilities in New Jersey; Director of Chase National Bank, New York City; Federal Union Trust Company, Newark, New Jersey; American Surety Company; American Super Power Corporation and United Gas Improvement Company.

CAPTAIN EDWARD
| RICKENBACKER

Nationally known aviation
- figure.

LOUIS J. /FABER

- Nationally known for his work
in connection with agricultural
developments.

DR. GEORGE H.
| WHIPPLE

- Nationally known pathologist.

The following persons, who are nationally known, are
also Members of this Committee:

Mrs. Bennett, Champ Clark
Bishop W. E. /Hamaker
Kathryn /Lewis
Sterling /Morton
Edward L. /Ryerson, Jr.
Mrs. Burton K. Wheeler.

The America First Committee is reported to be financed
solely by voluntary contributions by those interested in the
organization. The Committee conducted a radio broadcast on
October 21, 1940, at which time the radio announcer requested
his listeners to send anything from dimes to dollars to the
America First Committee, Board of Trade Building, Chicago,
Illinois.

The Committee has also issued a card called "America
First Committee Contribution Card," bearing the following:

"I am convinced that we can preserve our
American Democracy only by keeping out of foreign
war. Therefore I am contributing \$_____ to sup-
port the work of the America First Committee."

In connection with the financing of the said Committee,
attention is respectfully directed to the financial positions
held by:

General Robert E. Wood
R. Douglas Stuart, Jr.
J. Sanford Otis
Hanford MacNider
General Thomas Hammond
J. C. Hornel
Clay Judson
William R. Castle, Jr.
Henry Ford
Alice Roosevelt Longworth
Thomas N. McCarter.

ARE YOU WILLING TO GIVE UP DEMOCRACY

DO YOU WANT TO GO TO WAR WITHOUT BEING ASKED

ARE YOU READY TO MAKE THE U.S. A DICTATORSHIP

13296 1

THEN SPEAK UP NOW!

A war dictatorship bill has
been introduced in Congress

The President would
have absolute power
to do these things
without consulting
Congress or the people

1. Cancel the Neutrality Act and send our warships and merchant vessels into the war zones.
2. Cancel the Johnson Act and give unlimited funds to foreign nations.
3. Cancel any other law on the statute books.
4. Make military alliances with any nations anywhere in the world.
5. Take us into war whenever, wherever and against whomever he chooses.
6. Give away our Navy to any nation.
7. Give away every gun and bullet in our Army to any nation.
8. Give away every American airplane to any nation.
9. Give away all our military secrets to any nation.
10. Open our harbors and all their facilities to the warships of any nation engaged in war.
11. Seize the ships of one country and give them to another country.

**THIS IS WHAT YOU MUST DO NOW
TO SAVE OUR REPUBLIC**

• Telegraph, telephone or write your two Senators; also your Congressman; also Senator Walter F. George, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

• Tell them you are opposed to the war dictatorship bill, that you want them to fight and vote against it, that you won't stand for compromises, that the whole bill must be killed and thrown out of the Capitol.

• Make a list of all your friends and relatives and get them to do the same.

• Do it immediately.

100-7712-18

586

FOR THE PRESIDENT

100R
APR 28
NEW YORK
10-PM
1941

3-11-41

STAT ON H

President -
Franklin Delano Roosevelt,
The White House,
Washington. D.C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED *ON THIS*
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE *5/6/86* BY *SP6 bja/kgj*

b7c [redacted] 18
100-4712-10

March 1, 1941

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Secretary to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Steve:

Reference is made to your communication of February 21, 1941, to which was attached a memorandum directed to you on February 21, 1941, by the President. It is noted that there was attached to the memorandum from the President a circular distributed by the America First Committee.

13289

With regard to the President's request for information as to the source of funds of the America First Committee, I am attaching hereto a memorandum, dated March 1, 1941, which not only furnishes the desired information, but provides additional data concerning the America First Committee.

If it is the President's wish that a more exhaustive investigation be made relative to the means by which the America First Committee is being financed, I hope you will not hesitate to call upon me to conduct such investigation.

With assurances of my highest regards,

Sincerely yours,

Enclosure

BY SPECIAL DELIVERY

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
M A I L E D E L I V E R Y
MAR 1 1941
U. S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-6-86 BY SP6 bja/tcy

RECEIVED
MAR 1 1941
U. S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE
[Signature]

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 21, 1941

Respectfully referred to

J. Edgar Hoover.

[Signature]
STEPHEN EARLY .
Secretary to the President

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-6-86 BY SP6 bja/ky

1 ENCL. FM
0.9 700

RECORDED

100-4712-18	
4	MAR 4 1941
U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE	
EARLY	FIVE

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 21, 1941.

MEMORANDUM FOR

S. T. F.

Will you find out from someone --
perhaps F.B.I. - who is paying for this?

F. D. R.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-6-86 BY SP6 bja/tcy

NATIONAL DEFENSE DIVISION - FIVE

2/26/ 1941

___ Mr. E. A. Tamm	___ Files Section
___ Mr. Clegg	___ Mechanical Division
___ Mr. Tolson	___ Identification Division
___ Mr. Nathan	___ Technical Laboratory
___ Mr. Ladd	___ Translation Unit
___ Mr. Foxworth	___ Crime Records Section
___ Mr. Nichols	___ Crime Statistics
___ Mr. Glavin	
___ Mr. Tracy	___ Mr. Kramer
___ Miss Gandy	___ Mr. Drayton
___ Mr. Carson	___ Mr. Holloman
___ Mr. _____	___ Mr. Kimball
	___ Mr. Murphy

SUPERVISORS

___ G. M. Alderson	___ F. G. McGeary
___ H. S. Boone	___ K. R. McIntire
___ R. J. Brandt	___ J. C. Mulroy
___ G. C. Burton	___ J. B. O'Leary
___ J. A. Cimperman	___ H. Ranstad
___ D. Currie	___ A. M. Thurston
___ D. A. Flinn	___ E. W. Timm
___ R. S. Garner	___ D. L. Traynor
___ H. H. Hair	___ E. W. Youngs

___ Mrs. Dorset	<i>Recent</i>	___ Clerk
___ Mr. McGahey	<i>memo</i>	___ Send reference
___ Correct	<i>attached</i>	___ Send File
___ Redate		___ Bring file up to date
___ Appropriate action		___ Record, search,
___ Call me		___ serialize and route
___ See me		___ Indicate index references

*Get reply out to Early by tomorrow
with summary of info. on hand off
specific question not answered
thereby tell him it is being (over)*

J. K. Mumford - 1531

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-8-86 BY 1016 HAA/HAA

checked and he will be further
 advised. If this is necessary
~~let me know & I'll call~~
~~him and get them on it~~
 prepare a letter AMSO to
 him so instructing them
 & let me see it or a
 tickler and I'll phone
 them on it.

DISPOSITION	CHARGE	ARRESTED OR RECEIVED	IND NUMBER
-------------	--------	-------------------------	------------

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER, Director.

J. E. Hoover

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

FILE NO. 100-508

REPORT MADE AT MIAMI, FLORIDA	DATE WHEN MADE 2-28-41	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE 1-9-41	REPORT MADE BY b7c [REDACTED]
TITLE AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE			CHARACTER OF CASE INTERNAL SECURITY - G

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

b7c [REDACTED] has passed out cards for the America First Committee, [REDACTED]
b7D [REDACTED] because of unusual activity, and has been heard to talk pro-German with associates.

- RUC -

REFERENCE:

Letter to Bureau dated 11-13-40;
Bureau letter to Chicago Office dated 12-6-40.

DETAILS:

The Miami Field Division by letter dated November 13, 1940, transmitted to the Bureau three cards, one marked "Post Card, House Office Building, Washington, D. C.," the second card marked "Principles of the America First Committee," and the third marked "America First Committee, Contribution Card."

The Bureau by letter dated December 6, 1940, addressed to the Chicago Field Division, called attention to the letter from the Chicago Field Division dated November 9, 1940, which reflects that the America First Committee has sponsored programs over the radio which possibly indicated they are a form of German propaganda. The Bureau further called attention to the Miami letter of reference and noted investigation was to be conducted of this organization in this district to ascertain its background and activities and [REDACTED] **b7c**

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/6/86 BY SP-6 BJA/ky

APPROVED AND FORWARDED:

SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES

COPIES OF THIS REPORT

- Bureau
- Chicago

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3-27-68
1669

100-4712-19

MAR 3 1941

who is one of its promoters. The Chicago Field Division was requested by the Bureau to conduct investigation at Chicago, Illinois, as to this organization, and the Chicago Office was designated as the office of origin in this case.

AT SARASOTA, FLORIDA

b7c
b7D

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
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- ☒ Deleted under exemption(s) b7C b7D with no segregable material available for release to you.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.
- ☐ Documents originated with another Government agency(ies). These documents were referred to that agency(ies) for review and direct response to you.

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- ☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

100-4712-19 p. 3-5

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- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.
- ☐ Documents originated with another Government agency(ies). These documents were referred to that agency(ies) for review and direct response to you.

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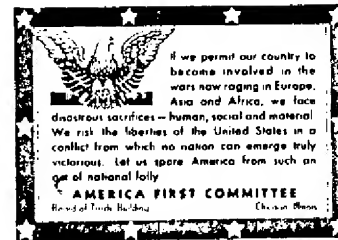
100-4712-19x

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X NO DUPLICATION FEE X
X FOR THIS PAGE X
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b7c
[redacted]
Cincinnati, Ohio
[redacted]

March 14, 1941

b7c
Hon. F. D. Roosevelt,
Charge d'affaires
British Empire
Washington, D.C.
Dear Mr. Roosevelt,



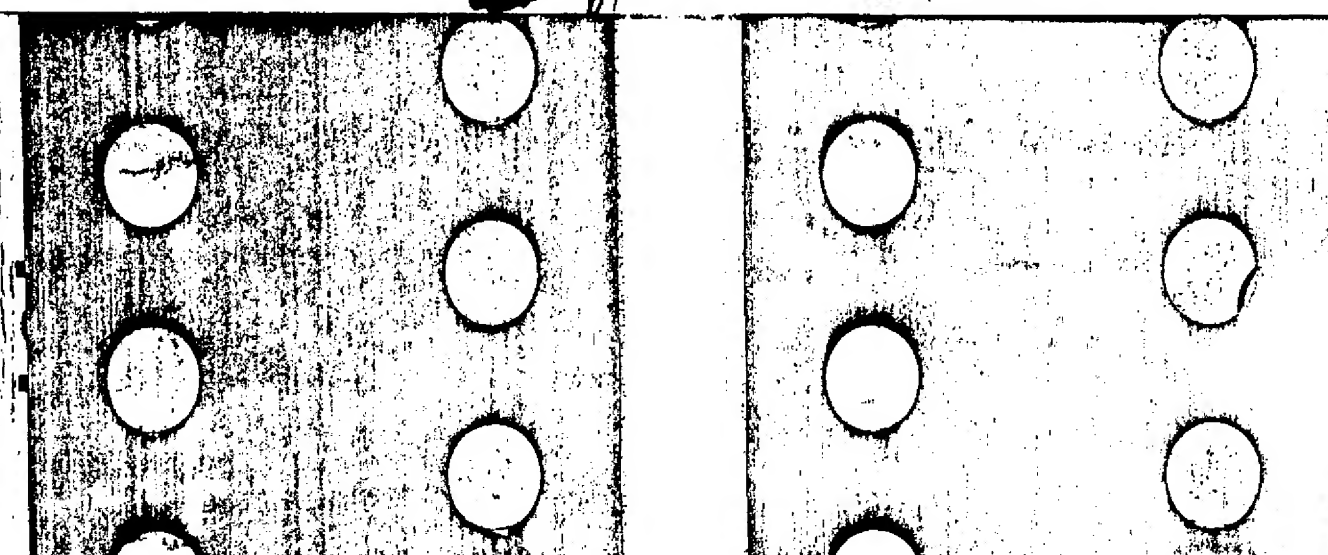
5-6-86 SP-6 bja/ky
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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-1-85 BY SP-7 mac
H24/183
100-4712-20

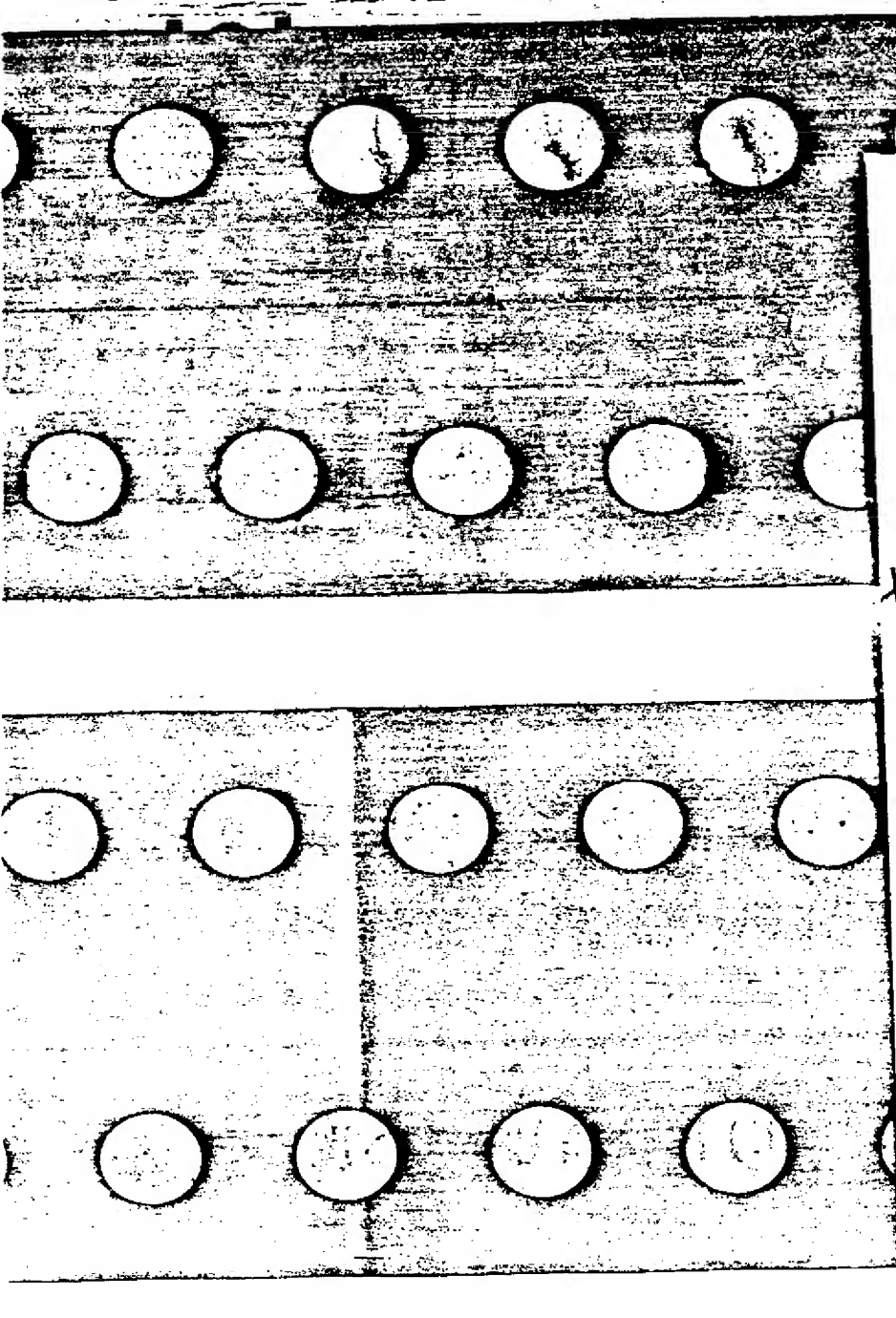
RECORDED & INDEXED
You forgot, Mr. Roosevelt, to lease-lend our women to the
British to mitigate the biologic urge of their troops. Churchill
should call you home for this!

Let to SAC
Cincinnati
3/25/41
[redacted] b7c

[redacted] b7c

[redacted] b7c





ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 11/18/85 BY SP-6 JMS/101
5-6-86 SP-6 JMS/101

F. B. Roosevelt
Washington D.C.



b7c

March 19, 1941

14406

RECORDED / 100-4712-20

~~PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

I am furnishing you herewith a memorandum of information which I have received from a confidential source with reference to the contemplated plans of the America First Committee.

I have also furnished this information to Major General Edwin M. Watson of the President's secretariat.

Respectfully,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10-1-85 BY SP-6
CONF # 262359

Enclosure

Related Copy Sent R.W. Steele
3-8-76

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. E. A. Tamm _____
Mr. Clegg _____
Mr. Foxworth _____
Mr. Ladd _____
Mr. Glavin _____
Mr. Nichols _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Tracy _____
Miss Gandy _____

3/20/41 2:14 pm
JEB

[Redacted signature block]

b7c

March 17, 1941

IN RE: Isolationists Plans to combat administration war hysteria in the United States, as claimed by this group.

14409

Plans are under way, in conjunction with the cooperation with the America First Committee, in having Senators, Congressmen and various peace and patriotic organizations travel throughout the country for complete coverage in opposition to any plans that the President might have in bringing this country into war. It is planned that three Senators, several Congressmen, and various members of patriotic, civic, and peace organizations will cover the Northern part of the United States, where another similar train-load will cover the Southern part of the United States, and a third will leave the East for coverage throughout the Middle part of the United States, completely out to the Coast. It is the plan of this America First Committee, together with numerous Senators and Congressmen, to give this plan complete coverage throughout the United States. It appears that sufficient funds are at hand to complete this program. General Wood and Senator Wheeler will be known as the spearhead organization.

5-6-86 P6 by [signature] 2/25/86
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 10-1-83 BY [signature]
241123

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R69

100-4712-20
MAR 22 1941
FIVE

U. S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

: P. I.

RECEIVED

APR 30 1941

ASD

[redacted] b7c

14407

March 19, 1941

MEMORANDUM

#24183
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10-1-85 BY 4779
5-6-86 SP6 bja/ky Comp # 26232

Information of a strictly confidential character has been received to the effect that plans are presently under way to have Senators, Congressmen, and various peace and patriotic organizations travel throughout the United States to reach all areas for the purpose of opposing any plans that the President might have in bringing this country into war. It is said that these plans are in cooperation with the America First Committee.

It is reported that three Senators, several Congressmen, and various members of patriotic, civic, and peace organizations will cover the Northern section of the United States, while a similar trainload of individuals will cover the Southern part of the United States. A third group will proceed from the East through the Central part of the United States and to the West Coast.

Apparently there are sufficient funds on hand to complete this program. General Robert Wood and Senator Burton K. Wheeler are to be known as leaders of this plan.

1 ENCL. FM

RECORDED & INDEXED

100-4712-20

MAR 22 1941

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3-27-59

X69

- Mr. Tolson _____
- Mr. E. A. Tamm _____
- Mr. Clegg _____
- Mr. Egan _____
- Mr. Glavin _____
- Mr. Ladd _____
- Mr. Nichols _____
- Mr. Rosen _____
- Mr. Tracy _____
- Miss Gandy _____

FIVE



b7c

March 28, 1941

14495

RECORDED ~~100-14351-2~~

100-4712-20X

Special Agent in Charge
Cincinnati, Ohio

RE: [REDACTED]
INTERNAL SECURITY.

Dear Sir:

There are being transmitted herewith copies of a letter dated March 14, 1941, addressed to the President by an individual named [REDACTED] Cincinnati, Ohio, which, together with the original envelope postmarked March 14, 1941, Cincinnati, Ohio, was received at the Bureau by reference from the White House.

You are advised that this letter has not been acknowledged and copies thereof are being forwarded to your office for your information only at this time.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Enclosure

100-4712-20X
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED
MAR 23 1941
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

b7c

★ AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE ★

49 EAST 53rd STREET, N. Y. C. ★ NEW YORK CHAPTER ★ PLand 3-5425

NEW ADDRESS
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
615 MADISON AVE., NEW YORK, N. Y.

John T. Flynn
Executive Chairman
New York Chapter

Gen. Robert E. Wood
National Chairman

NATIONAL COMMITTEE

Dr. A. J. Carlson
William R. Castle
Mrs. Bennett Champ Clark
Irvin S. Cobb
Janet Ayer Fairbank
John T. Flynn
Bishop Wilbur E. Hammaker
Gen. Thomas Hammond
Jay C. Hormel
Gen. Hugh S. Johnson
Clay Judson
Florence P. Kahn
Kathryn Lewis
Alice Roosevelt Longworth
Frank O. Lowden
Hanford MacNider
Thomas N. McCarter
Ray McKaig
Sterling Morton
Kathleen Norris
Amos R. E. Pinchot
William H. Regnery
Edward L. Ryerson, Jr.
Louis J. Taber
Mrs. Burton K. Wheeler
Dr. George H. Whipple
Major Alford J. Williams

March 28, 1941

APR 1

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover,
Chief, Federal Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice Building,
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Hoover,

We have been working in New York in forming the New York Chapter of America First. We have now between fifteen thousand and twenty thousand members. We specifically state on our membership card that these members sign up as American citizens and are not connected with any foreign power or subversive influence.

Nevertheless, to be completely sure that our membership is in accordance with our desires, we would like to have one of your agents go through our membership lists to discover whether or not there may be a few who do not answer the qualifications required for membership.

We are all loyal American citizens working for a cause which we think is right and, naturally, don't want to have any foreign influence in our membership.

Very truly yours,

Edwin S. Webster, Jr.
Edwin S. Webster, Jr.
Secretary

RECORDED & INDEXED

ESW:ND

100-4772-2
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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DATE 5/6/86 BY SP6 bja/tay

April 9, 1941

100-4712 - 21

RECORDED

Mr. Edwin S. Webster, Jr.
Secretary
America First Committee
515 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Webster:

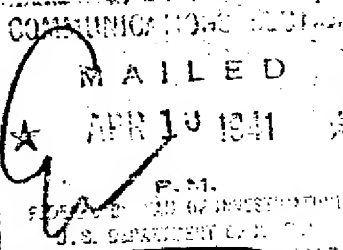
I wish to acknowledge receipt of your letter of March 28, 1941, and to express my appreciation for your courtesy and interest in writing as you did.

Since the Federal Bureau of Investigation is authorized only to conduct investigations with respect to certain classifications of criminal matters, it is not properly within the scope of our activities to pass upon the qualifications of persons applying for membership in your organization. The information contained in the files of this Bureau is confidential and can only be released through official channels upon the specific authorization of the Attorney General. I am sure that you will understand the reasons why it is not possible to comply with your request.

However, should you receive any information which you feel would be of interest to this Bureau in connection with national defense matters, I wish that you would feel free to communicate directly with Mr. B. E. Sackett, Special Agent in Charge, Federal Bureau of Investigation, United States Department of Justice, 607 U. S. Court House, Foley Square, New York, New York.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director



cc - [redacted] NYC (with inclosure)
Chicago (with inclosure)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 5/6/86 BY SP4 JJA/ky

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. E. A. Tamm _____
Mr. Clegg _____
Mr. Foxworth _____
Mr. Glavin _____
Mr. Ladd _____
Mr. Nichols _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Carson _____
Mr. Quinn Tamm _____
Mr. Hendon _____
Mr. Tracy _____
Miss Gandy _____

APR 10 11 29 AM '41
RECEIVED-ROOM 564C
FBI

APR 10 12 53 PM '41
RECEIVED-DIRECTOR
FBI

b7c

United States Senate

Washington, D.C., March 31, 1941

Respectfully referred to

Honorable J. Edgar Hoover Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/6/86 BY [signature]

ENCLD

RECORDED & INDEXED
Respectfully,

100-4712-25
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
SCOTT W. LUCAS
APR 1 1941
U.S.A.
U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE 16-5912

b7c

APR 2 1941

b7c

Senator Lucas: May I suggest that the Department of Justice, or other proper body, be required to look into the genesis of the so called America First organization. A local chapter is being formed and so far as I can see its foundation is a mixture of religious and political fanaticism mixed with blind hatred of Britian on the part of a small percent of our people of Irish and German extraction who allow their imported, (and in most cases inherited dislike) to dim their vision as regards the **welfare** of this nation. Being based on hatred the organization is certain to tear itself to shreds in time but for a period may attract quite a following among a considerable number of well intentioned but misguided folks. To the degree that it succeeds Hitler's contention that representative government can be depended upon to destroy itself by dissension within will have been proved.

Yours truly,

Freeport, Ill., 3/27/41

b7c

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/6/86 BY SP-6 bja/tcy

100-1712-22

ack + let to [redacted]
4/2/41 [redacted] b7c
[redacted] b7c

America First Committee

April 5, 1941

RECORDED

100-4712-22

Honorable Scott W. Lucas
United States Senate
Washington, D. C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/6/86 BY SP6 by a/kg

My dear Senator:

b7c
I wish to acknowledge receipt of the communication directed to you by [redacted] Freeport, Illinois, dated March 27, 1941, which you transmitted to this Bureau under date of March 31, 1941.

Your courtesy in bringing [redacted] letter to my attention is sincerely appreciated and I want you to know that the information contained therein will receive appropriate consideration.

For your information I have acknowledged [redacted] letter and informed him that you have referred his communication to me.

With expressions of my highest esteem and best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. E. A. Tamm _____
Mr. Clegg _____
Mr. Foxworth _____
Mr. Glavin _____
Mr. Ladd _____
Mr. Nichols _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Carson _____
Mr. Quinn Tamm _____
Mr. Hendon _____
Mr. Trow _____
Miss Gandy _____

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

MAILED

★ APR 7 1941 ★

P. M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

APR 7 10 57 AM '41
RECEIVED ROOM 5646
U. S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

Transfer BK

RT over

b7c

April 5, 1941

RECORDED 100-4712-22

b7c

Freeport, Illinois

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/6/86 BY 8-6 bja/Hay

Dear [REDACTED]

I wish to advise that your letter of March 27, 1941, addressed to Honorable Scott W. Lucas, U. S. Senate, has been received at the Federal Bureau of Investigation by reference from Senator Lucas. Your courtesy and interest in bringing this information to the attention of the Federal Government are indeed appreciated.

You may be assured that the content of your letter has been noted and will receive appropriate consideration.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

APR 7 10 57 AM '41
RECEIVED

- Mr. Tolson _____
- Mr. E. A. Tamm _____
- Mr. Clegg _____
- Mr. Foxworth _____
- Mr. Glavin _____
- Mr. Ladd _____
- Mr. Nichols _____
- Mr. Rosen _____
- Mr. Carson _____
- Mr. Quinn Tamm _____
- Mr. Hendon _____
- Mr. Tracy _____
- Miss Gandy _____

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED
★ APR 7 1941 ★
P. M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

b7c

Chairman Select Committee

ENCL. W. 2

AFTER 5 DAYS RETURN TO

[Redacted]
Yonkers N.Y.

b7c

*APR 12 1941
NEW YORK
G.P.*

-AIR MAIL-

Federal Bureau Investigation

Washington

D.C.

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE *5/6/86* BY *SP6 bja/tay*

100-4712-23

RECORDED & INDEXED

<i>100-4712-23</i>	
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION	
5 MAR 28 1941	
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE	
<i>[Redacted]</i> <i>b7c</i>	

THE HERALD STATESMAN, YONKERS, N. Y., WEDNESDAY, MARCH 26, 1941

10

The HERALD Statesman

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 26, 1941

Entered as second class mail matter at the postoffice Yonkers Westchester County New York

Published Daily, Except Sunday at Larkin Plaza Yonkers N. Y. by The Herald Statesman, Inc.

J. Noel Macy, President; L. S. Dayton, Vice-President
H. F. Lippold, Secretary; W. L. Fanning, Treasurer

Telephone Nepperhan 5000, Yonkers 7700

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Cites Nazi Support Of 'America First'

Editor, The Herald Statesman:

The Westchester Chapter of the America First Committee recently held a meeting in Bronxville, which was reported in your newspaper. The speaker said that the aim of the committee is to keep America out of war. He said that the group is neither anti-British nor pro-Nazi.

I hope that any of your readers who are interested in the America First Committee will send to the Friends of Democracy, Inc., 103 Park Avenue, New York, for a free brochure entitled, "The America First Committee—The Nazi Transmission Belt."

This pamphlet, fully documented, shows how the America First Committee is being strongly supported by American Nazi and anti-Semitic groups. Their members swarm to America First meetings. They are urged to distribute its literature, recruit members for it, and support it financially. The brochure also quotes a radio broadcast from Berlin, commending the America First Committee as "true Americanism and true patriotism." Virginia Gayda, Mussolini's mouthpiece, is also quoted as praising the committee.

The pamphlet does not indicate the

sincerity of the rank and file of America First members, nor does it accuse the committee of being a Nazi group. But it points out that it is always a totalitarian device to get other groups to further its propaganda. Thus Berlin and Rome, and their pro-Fascist groups in this country, have rallied to the America First banner because its advocacy of a foreign policy favorable to the Axis is doubly effective, since it comes from a group which does not bear the stigma of an alien loyalty.

E. SINCLAIR HERTELL,
54 Sagamore Road,
Bronxville.

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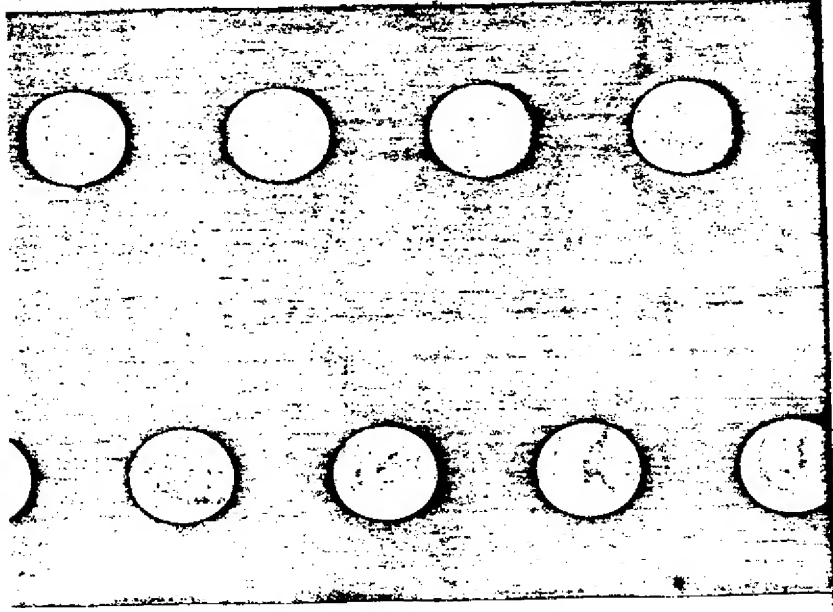
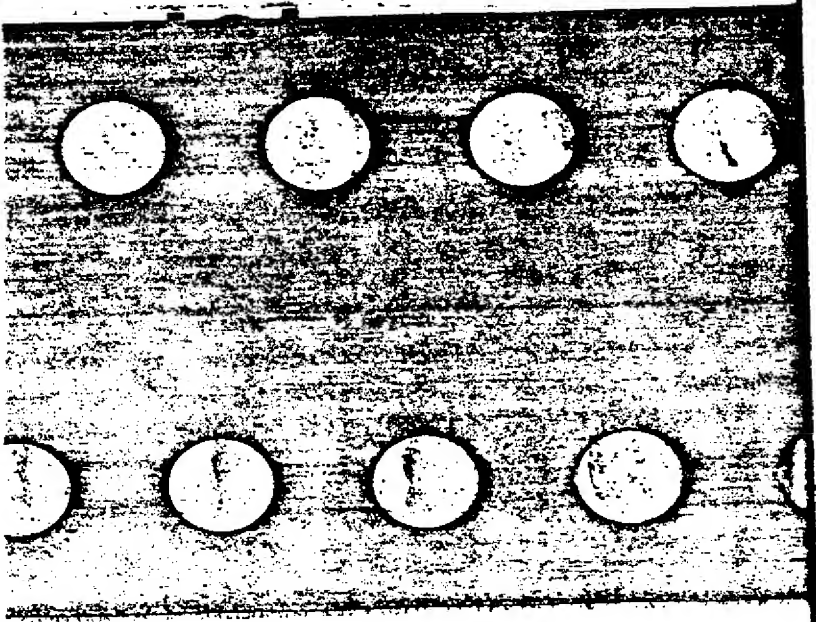
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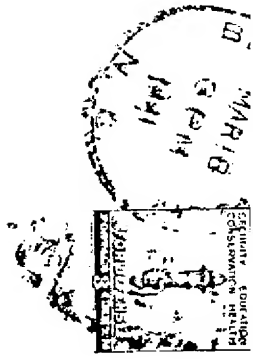
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UNITED STATES



OF AMERICA

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 76th CONGRESS, THIRD SESSION

SPEAK UP, MR. WHITE!

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWIN C. JOHNSON

OF COLORADO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Thursday, December 19 (legislative day of Tuesday,
November 19), 1940*

OPEN LETTER BY WILLIAM E. BARRETT TO WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Mr. President, Mr. William E. Barrett, a distinguished newspaper man and author, of Denver, Colo., recently addressed an open letter to William Allen White which should be read and studied by every pro-American in the United States.

One need not agree fully with Barrett's inferences and deductions to be challenged by his demand that we think this European war through to the peace table before we move further into the vortex of its hell. After all, what goes on at the peace table when the war is finished is what counts. At the end of the last war we listed 14 points as the objectives of the Allies, only to find in the end that the Allies were only "kidding" us. Shall America forget her bitter disillusionment at Versailles?

This time let Britain name the objectives now and give us some assurance of her sincerity to stick to them come what may before we serenely follow her up the "blind alley" of British imperialism to our own destruction. William Allen White owes it to America to frankly answer Mr. Barrett, and if he himself does not know the answer, let him get it from Britain before he leads us farther down that one-way road.

I ask unanimous consent of the Senate to insert in the Appendix of the RECORD Mr. Barrett's open letter to Mr. White.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AN OPEN LETTER TO WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE

(By William E. Barrett, author of *Woman on Horseback*, etc.)

MY DEAR MR. WHITE: You are the spearhead of the drive for all possible United States aid to Great Britain in the present war. By your own definition, you are an "engine of publicity and propaganda." Laying aside the unpleasant thought that any worthy cause needs propaganda in order to win the support of the American people, you are doubtless interested, as a publicist, in any suggestion which will win millions of converts to the cause you serve.

There are many millions of people in the United States who do not believe with you that the safety and security of this Nation rests, or ever has rested, in the hands of Great Britain. Many

millions of us refuse to believe that we owe our existence as a nation to the protection of the British Fleet, which you would have us bolster at the expense of our own fleet. Many millions of us are opposed to the future moves on your agenda: To repeal the Johnson Act; to further stripping of our own defenses in Britain's behalf; to the use of the United States Fleet for convoy duty in the Atlantic; to the use of our fleet for the defense of Singapore; and to the use of American troops as an expeditionary force to any part of the British Empire, leased or otherwise.

You acknowledge the weight of opposition to your "Britain first" program by the very intensity of your propaganda drive. High-pressure selling and advertising invariably indicate an inferior product or strong sales resistance to be overcome. You can overcome sales resistance to your drive by a few honest answers to the questions which every American has the right to ask. Americans must pay in money, in the sacrifice of personal liberty, and ultimately in blood for the British victory which is your avowed objective. They should not be asked to purchase blindly at so great a price.

Imagine for the moment that your objective has been attained. Nazi Germany has been smashed. Italy crushed, and the victors are seated at the treaty table. Obviously, this time there are but two victors—Great Britain and the United States. It is not necessary to imagine the steps that place those victors at the treaty table. You should be able to tell us what will happen when your objective is attained, because surely you are not leading your followers on a blind gamble without knowing your goal. Or are you?

All right; the war is over. Great Britain, with the United States aid which you did so much to win for her, is victorious. What follows that victory? Europe is impoverished; Great Britain and the United States have accumulated monstrous debts. The economic system of the conquered nations has been destroyed—and English-speaking nations hold the destiny of the world upon a table.

You have won a reputation as a homely philosopher of the plains, and you carry the role well into the field of foreign affairs. You are quoted as advocating the outright gift of fabulous sums to Great Britain rather than the making of loans because "nations are like human beings. Loans destroy friendship." Probably, in thinking about that future treaty table, another homespun saying might be as apt: "Nations are like human beings. You can only judge them by their past performances."

We sat at a treaty table before with Great Britain after a war that we helped her win. Our objective in pouring out money, sacrifice, and blood was vague then, as now. We merely wanted to rid the world of the Kaiser and of German imperialism, which was trampling human rights. We wanted to make the world safe for democracy. We were assured by other stanch American spokesmen for Britain of that day that such, too, was Britain's objective. There was the war aim. At the treaty table we found out that Great Britain, strangely enough, wanted enormous additions to her vast Empire, colonies, and mandates; furthermore, that Great Britain's demands fitted a carefully planned pattern. In previous wars she had encircled the coal-producing regions, but the age of oil had crept upon her. Versailles fixed that, and the new map brought the oil regions into the British orbit as well as additional territories which converted her controls over vital raw materials into virtual world monopolies. We went into the war with an ideal and into the treaty room with 14 points. Both went out the window—and, since Great Britain took vast loot from the victory that we helped her to win, that loot, in the cold light of history, was the British war aim in the first World War—that and nothing else.

Now, imagining this war as over, Great Britain and the United States are partners again. Having won, is it your idea that we will retire once more with Great Britain's debts and our own debts to pay, with nothing to show for it save some kind of a League of Nations' diploma attesting that again we have saved democracy and

the right of Britain to divide up the lands and the waters of the earth?

Or, having shared the cost of the war, is it your idea that we should split the proceeds, share and share alike on the loot, with Great Britain? That would mean imperialism, you know; the maintenance of colonies and the exploitation of subject races. We have never done that because our forefathers, who were all isolationists like those who oppose you and your committee, had an idea that such practices are incompatible with the idea of democracy. You have changed much of that line of thought, however, and the American people have come to believe that Great Britain is a democracy like our own, so probably you will not have serious trouble. The people of Kansas, for example, may even like the idea eventually of black men toiling under a distant sun for gentlemen farmer absentees.

Or do you believe that the treaty table of the two victors will merely restore the pre-1939 status quo? Will they put all the little nations back in their places, restore the world monopolies to Great Britain—plus the advantages of no more competing synthetics—and allow us the glow of a good deed well done? If that is the idea, and most of your followers seem to think so, there are some real questions for you to answer.

What are the two victors going to do about Russia, who certainly will not have lost anything since Russia has played the role which you and your friends have not permitted us to play; the role of powerful neutrality, without expense, without casualties, and without domestic upheaval? In restoring the map of Europe to its pre-war status, will the two victors insist on Russia's withdrawal from Poland or will they be satisfied with a half Poland on the map? This is an important question since Poland is the excuse which Great Britain used for starting the holocaust in Europe with her declaration of war. Will the two victors insist upon Russia's withdrawal from Finland? What about Estonia, Lithuania, and Latvia?

If nothing is done about these nations, isn't it possible that even propaganda-drugged minds will suspect that perhaps the war was not fought for freedom, democracy, and the rights of small nations; that perhaps it was just another trade war to eliminate a strong competitor with the rights of small nations no more important to one side than the other?

Suppose that Russia refuses to surrender any territory—or even insists upon being handed more territory as the price of acquiescence in the transactions of the British-American treaty table? Will the United States and Britain immediately launch into another war against Russia—or will they pay Russia's price? Will this be appeasement and are you in favor of it? Consistently, it does not seem to us that you could be in favor of that, and so we are afraid that by following your lead now we shall be at war for a long, long time: First, the European continent to be rewon and then Russia to be conquered—to say nothing about the Orient.

Of course, many of the people who follow your doctrines are ready now to accept Communist Russia as a democracy, provided Russia makes favorable trade agreements with Great Britain, so perhaps Russia will not be such a problem at that peace table. If the Soviet is then accepted as a democracy there may not be any mass protest over assigning to Stalin any nation or people he may demand. What do you think?

Leaving Russia out of it, there are a few small nations left that may prove troublesome when it comes to restoring the map as it was. The people of Belgium, for instance, may want to retain their king. Great Britain will hardly stand for that. Perhaps you have some plan for Belgium. Would you favor removing the Belgian king in defiance of the wishes of the people he refused to sacrifice to protect a British retreat? Would it help you if a nice term were coined for the deed, such as the redemocratizing of Belgium?

What about Holland? Queen Wilhelmina ruled over 8,000,000 Dutch and 63,000,000 subject people in the Dutch colonies. The labor of the 63,000,000 made Wilhelmina the richest monarch in the world, and made her English partners millionaires, but over one-quarter of her 8,000,000 subjects at home were on relief. When trouble came to Holland, as a consequence of the noble queen's under-the-table dealing with her financial partners in England, the Queen fled to where her money already reposed. Suppose the people of Holland prefer to leave the wily Wilhelmina in England? Do you favor restoring her to the post which enriched her and impoverished Holland? Do you favor the use of United States pressure to so restore her to the historic Dutch Empire capital in Holland or the new seat of power in Batavia?

And Denmark? We know, of course, from your voluminous writings that the taking of vengeance upon noncooperating people is a purely Nazi trait and a piece of wickedness in which noble nations like Britain never indulge; but just suppose that at the treaty table Great Britain suggests measures of punishment for the Danes who cooperated with Germany in order to prevent their country from becoming a battlefield. Should the United States protest—or can the United States protest?

Just what is the position of the United States at that future treaty table of the victors, at which Great Britain will never sit unless we put her there? What do we stand for in Europe, now that you have brought us into it? Do we stand for a federation of European states, operating on a free-trade principle like ours upon their own continent? If we do, what are we doing in an alliance with Great Britain? Great Britain will never stand for that and will fight wars in the future, as she has fought them in the past, to prevent any such federation, with its threat of competition to the Empire. Do

we stand for the doctrine that Europe should be broken into a series of small and individually helpless nations, forced to arm perpetually against one another and to surrender the rights of their citizens in exchange for the right to trade with the Empire monopolies? If we do not stand for that, why the British alliance? Britain stands for just that and never for any other orientation of Europe.

At the treaty table will we repeat Versailles? If not, can you quote a single British or American statesman on how Britain's war aims differ in the second World War from what they were in the 1914-18 struggle?

Are we going to take colonies for ourselves, or will we consent to Britain's taking control of the French colonies as she seized Germany's colonies after the first World War? Can you suggest how the United States can prevent such action, once we have conveyed all of our strength to Britain, won her war for her, and, by Herculean effort, maintained her as mistress of the seas? Have we any guarantees that Britain, her list of world monopolies increased, will not double and triple the cost to us of vital raw materials, as she did when Versailles gave her the German colonies?

We are not only being committed to a course of action beneficial to Great Britain, but we are implementing that commitment at great sacrifice and cost to ourselves. To what is Great Britain committed so far as the United States is concerned? Please name one thing.

Do you believe that the British Government would permit a pro-American committee to operate in England as your pro-British committee works in the United States? If not, do you think it is fair to whip American feeling to such a pro-British pitch to the positive detriment of America's future when there is no corresponding effort being made to impress upon the British people their indebtedness to us? As a matter of fact, isn't it true that your committee's releases are being quoted in England as evidence that even Americans believe that our aid to Britain is inadequate?

At that treaty table, is there any reason to believe that Winston Churchill will feel any differently than he felt about us before—after we had already delivered everything Britain wanted and when they no longer needed us? Remember what he said then: "President Wilson sought to play a part out of all proportion to any stake which his country had contributed or intended to contribute to European affairs."

In other words, having fought for an ideal, we sought to have the ideal recognized at a time when Britain was concentrated upon loot. Our Navy's great convoy job, the blood we shed in France, and our billions which Britain never paid, or intended to pay, did not add up to much of a stake then so far as Mr. Churchill was concerned. The war was over. The income alone on the rich loot which Britain took from Versailles, where the United States—guarantor of her victory—took nothing, would have paid her debt to us several times over in the past 20 years—but Britain withheld; and you, in simple homespun words, say that we should not lend again, but we should give!

Have you the slightest idea as to what the economic issue is in this war—or do vulgar economics bore the high-minded idealists of your committee? You wave at us the danger of Nazi penetration in Latin-America and you use Latin-America as the big fear spot to urge aid to Britain. Do you know that a long line of Englishmen back over a great many years, are on record to the effect that any close rapprochement between North and South America is fraught with danger to Great Britain and must be prevented lest Great Britain find it necessary to fight some day in order to dissolve the threat to Empire which a solid pan America would represent? Do you know that the nations of South America must trade with Europe because they have no other market for their principal products—and that an impoverished Europe must barter with Latin-America after the war, whether Germany wins or England does? England, with the European control we win for her, as a vital customer will dictate the foreign policies of Latin-American nations—and Great Britain dares not permit North and South America to work in harmony? Figure that out.

Imagine the United States at the treaty table as one of the two victors in a war over the destiny of Europe, Mr. White, and tell us your idea of what should come of it. That is all that you have to do in order to win millions of converts. Generalities will not do, of course. Tell us what our war aims are as they will be expressed at that treaty table. Tell us what you believe England will want, and Russia. Tell us what ace in the hole the United States will retain in order to command respect for American demands at that treaty table—and tell us how we are going to protect ourselves against Great Britain if hostility grows out of the post-war settlement, considering the fact that we are accepting an inferior role and restoring another nation to greatness and to possessions beyond our own.

In other words, if you have given any thought at all to the future of the United States during those many months when you have been preoccupied with the affairs of Britain, let us have your ideas. We are weary of taking one blind step after another. We want to view the distant scene which so appeals to you.

Quite frankly, there are millions of us who believe that you are beating the drums for the greatest blind gamble in history. We are opposing you because we believe you represent the greatest danger which this country has faced in all its history. We do not believe that you have the slightest idea of where you are going, and it is time to say that a vast majority of our people hope that you are not taking us with you.

*A PETITION TO THE PRESIDENT AND CONGRESS
OF THE UNITED STATES*

We, the undersigned citizens of Central Ohio, are decidedly opposed to the convoy of either American ships or ships of foreign flags by the United States Navy.

Equally determined, we are opposed to the entry of this country, with any part of the armed forces of the United States, into any foreign war.

NOTE: (Sign this petition only if you are an American Citizen.)

NAME**ADDRESS**[illegible]

ination, she does not believe it. At the beginning of this war, Britain offered Hungary all of Czecho-Slovakia if Hungary would fight on the Allied side. What we should believe is that, each nation deserves and should have its political independence but its economic independence, with tariffs, trade barriers, etc., will have to be co-ordinated with the larger powers if peoples are to survive the Machine Age with its impact upon every phase of human endeavor. Otherwise, it will be dog eat dog in trade wars until the race is exterminated.

Quote: "These men and their hypnotized followers call this a New Order. It is not new and it is not order."—(Mr. Roosevelt's speech, March 15th.)

Comment: Carl Becker writing in the Spring issue of the Yale Review says, "We have been hearing a good deal lately about the New Order in Europe. As a description of the existing situation the phrase is slightly inaccurate in two respects: first, the new order isn't new; second, it isn't an order. Perhaps it will clarify the situation a little to call it the same old disorder." Since Mr. Roosevelt does not write his own speeches and indeed, often has not even seen them until ready to deliver them, it would not be fair to blame him for this steal from another man's writings. But his ghost writer should have the fairness to refrain from taking half a sentence from another's thoughts. Europe is certainly not yet in order but much has been accomplished toward that end during the past ten years. They have solved many economic problems we have not solved. Socialism is not new, but the economics applied to the form of Socialism adopted in Germany is new. It is far better than Russia's effort to make everything community owned (communism) and better than our effort to do nothing that would radically offend the capitalists. You can imagine for instance, what an appropriation of 15 billion dollars to make the wheels of industry start turning again would have done to our capitalists! We had to prevent peace in Europe and get squarely into the war before such sums of money could be gotten. Having gotten it, the capitalists will get much of it in contracts but when there is no one left to fight, what then?

Quote: "A British victory over Germany will lead to the restoration of the gold standard, fixed currency ratios, and a vast program of development in Asia, Africa and South America."—(Sir George Paish in his new book, Out of Chaos.)

Comment: The Christian Century suggests that the word 'exploitation' should be substituted where 'development' appears in the sentence above. Sir George had much to do with America's entry into the last war 'to save democracy'. It was Sir George who stormed into Senator Carter Glass' office last Fall and informed the Senator that the United States would come into the war any time Great Britain wished us to. The Senator pretended great (but short lived) indignation and Lord Lothian suggested that Sir George go home to England. But apparently Sir George has many American supporters in his scheme for a new imperialism which would open three backward continents and greatly enrich the British Empire. Unfortunately, the American taxpayer is supposed to foot the bill. Also, we are expected to help police these worlds after conquering them. Josiah C. Wedgwood broadcasting from England has this to say to us and about us, "If I pin my hopes to union with America, it is because union is the strongest bond, leaving no loophole for evasion of duty, or responsibility for sacrifice in the future." (!) In other words, having escaped our net in 1918 we will give you no chance this time. The Union Now movement is very strong in interventionist circles.

Quote: "Our investments in the East amount to exactly the sum of this nation's annual chewing gum bill. Are we going to fight a costly naval war to protect those investments?"—(John Flynn.)

Comment: If we fight Japan it is solely to protect British and Dutch holdings in the Far East. There is no reason for this except that we purchase tin and rubber from the Dutch East Indies. The rubber we can make artificially and the tin we could buy from the Patino Mines in South America if the British owned smelting interests would sell to us but so far refuse to. The reason is clear, they wish us to fight Japan. It looks as if we are going to oblige them.

Quote: "Now we find these same international bankers, with their royal refugee friends, the Sassoons of the Orient, the Rothschilds and the Warburgs of Europe in another theme song—our investments in India and Europe must be preserved—save democracy!"—(Senator Burton Wheeler, in radio address March 4th.)

Comment: The Sassoons are the fabulously rich British Jews who own the cotton mills of India where labor laws and child labor regulation is non-existent, while the Rothschilds and Warburgs are international bankers, also fabulously rich. For this remark Mr. I. F. Stone writing in the March Nation calls Mr. Wheeler anti-Semitic.

Quote: "We cannot have mass production and mechanization without planning. Engineers and their financial backers are planners. Dictators are planners. Whether they know it or not, most corporation executives and engineers are necessarily totalitarian in practice. Hitler, Mussolini and Stalin clearly have the instincts of engineers. Their states are social structures."—Waldemar Kaempffert in Foreign Affairs, January.)

Comment: The United States is moving towards this planned kind of economy, which in Germany is called Socialism. But the correlation between these New Deal ideas (socialism as we wished to endorse it under the New Deal) and the new imperialists who are really our capitalists, is something that will have to be revealed later on—perhaps only by events themselves.

LOUISE N. WHEELWRIGHT.

Blowing Rock, N. C.
March 22nd, 1941.

Fellow Citizen:

These are quotations from the great and the near-great, with comments upon the quotations. It is not meant as criticism but rather an effort to understand their processes of reasoning and in some instances, to point out their meaningless play upon words, effectively used to bemuse the human mind.

Quote: "Control of the radio means control over the minds and emotions of millions of listeners. This trump card is held by the interventionists."—(John Flynn in the March Commentator.)

Comment: How many of us know who owns the Columbia and National broadcasting companies? The Government Communications Bureau has the power of censorship in the last analysis.

Quote: "In two of our chapters—New York and Washington—we have a bunch of war-mongers and under our organization we have no way to oust them and I just can't remain at the head of an organization which is being used by these two chapters to ghost dance for war."—(M. Wm. Allen White stating his reasons for resigning from the "Aid to Allies Committee.")

Comment: Mr. White's statement was suppressed by the Associated Press after having been published in a Birmingham paper to whose editor the statement was made. Who owns the Associated Press?

Quote: "We believe firmly that when our production is in full swing the democracies of the world (where are they?) will be able to prove that dictatorships cannot win."—(Mr. Roosevelt's speech March 15th)

Comment: Ours is the only country left not under a rigid dictatorship, or a viceroy with dictator powers, or a monarch and dictator, (as in Greece), to depose any one of which would mean the establishment of another. To conquer the continent and establish another dictator (more to our liking) in either Germany, Italy, or Russia, would cost the lives of at least fifteen million men. The truth is, it is not dictators but full production (full employment) that is Mr. Roosevelt's problem. Granted that totalitarian economy has its advantages over free enterprise, it seems selfish indeed to destroy something because it is more efficient. We are using the war to obtain full production and full employment and that is why Mr. Tugwell exclaims with glee . . . "from an economic standpoint, it's a grand war" . . . It is said in Washington that our economists have known all along that we could have gotten full production, employment, consumption, etc., without war with appropriations of from 12 to 15 billions but the appropriations could not be had without the war crisis. The other reasons for war were outlined in last week's leaflet—the question is, are we getting in too deep? In other words, if we cannot solve our own problems why should we think we can solve world problems by force of arms in strange lands?

Quote: "I know that the war, even if it ends in victory for England, involves very grave dangers to democracy and freedom. I fear also that British war aims—which Mr. Churchill still refuses to state—will probably be found, if we win, to have contained an element of imperialism."—(Bertram Russell, New York Times, March 8th).

Comment: Britain and France had well formulated and clearly stated war aims when the war began. Taking this information from an editorial appearing in the Philadelphia Ledger for April 18th, 1940, these aims were: Close collaboration between the British-French empires in economic matters with the view to extending this collaboration even to the point of common citizenship. Control of Central Europe with a newly formed "English Commercial Trading Corporation, Ltd.," financed by the British Treasury for the purpose of controlling barter trade between Germany and other nations. The Balkan countries were to continue getting the products they needed from German industry but the Balkan products needed by Germany would be bought by the Corporation. To relieve post-war unemployment and make control more complete, an Allied force of two million men would be stationed in Europe for twenty years. Germany would be cut into small states. This editorial ends with the observation that the peace was not to be unlike war itself.

Quote: "There never has been, there never will be, any race of men fit to serve as masters over their fellow men."—(Mr. Roosevelt's speech, March 15th)

Comment: Wallace Novestein writing in the January Yale Review states, "Deliberately in the 19th century English public school masters (our private schools) set themselves the task of training a governing class for Britain's job in the East. Not for nothing were the English taught to think of themselves as successors of the Romans. Young men must be trained for their imperial tasks of ruling their subordinates with few words and authority." Those of us who have lived in British colonial possessions know well the master-slave attitude of the Briton, which when you are on the spot seems justified. The difference between the British and the brutally honest modern German is that the latter denies that all men are born free and equal. The British join us in proclaiming that all men are born free and equal but spend the rest of our lives proving it is not true. Hitler asserts that it is the destiny of the Nordic (white) race to rule the world. Do you believe that? If you do, why do you applaud a demagogue who says that is not true?

Quote: "We believe that any nation, no matter how small, has the inherent right to its own nationhood."—(Mr. Roosevelt's speech, March 15th.)

Comment: "If we believe that what are we doing in an alliance with Great Britain? She believes it only if it supports her balance of power policy. If it means nationhood for nations under British dom-

Blowing Rock, N. C.
March 15th, 1941

Fellow Citizen:

Since this sheet was printed last Saturday Bill 1776 has become a law. Twenty million voters approved it, ten million disapproved it, twenty million took refuge in qualifications or had no opinion. To many of us it seems the most humiliating hour in the nation's history, to others it seems the salvation of civilization, and to others who dislike Germany it is sweet revenge. But whatever the personal reaction, it is the law and for better or for worse must be lived up to. None of that should make us forget:

- that from time immemorial governments have obscured their real reasons for going to war
 - that Truth is mightier than the sword but unpopular in war time
 - that your favorite columnist is paid to write what you read and that the "free" press represents the interests of those who own it (See Harold Ickes' "Lords of the Press")
 - that without differences of political opinion the United States would cease to exist as a democratic form of government
 - that trade is the life blood of every nation and the longer we refuse to trade with Europe, the more self sufficient we force them to become, thereby killing our own much needed markets
 - that Europe is South America's natural market since they produce things we have little need for and we cannot continue indefinitely paying them not to sell to Europe
 - that learning to get along with people we do not like, in the home, the state, the nation and in foreign nations is the road to peace. Refusing to compromise differences and insistence upon destructive warfare is wrong
 - that National Socialism saved Germany and Central Europe from communism and economic chaos
 - that Democracy is right for America because our nation is rich and can afford it, (for a while yet, maybe) but Europe was impoverished and could not afford it. The corruption and exploitation inherent in democracy compelled its abandonment in many nations and brought ruin to France
 - that Peace without Victory should be urged by every man.
 - that the United States never ratified the Treaty of Versailles
 - that prior to 1917 this nation got along in the world with absolute monarchies (dictatorships) and prospered, attending to our own affairs.
 - that prior to 1917 for 150 years it had been the policy of this government to rush mercy ships to stricken peoples all over the world. Our Christian charity died with the hunger blockade of Germany in 1918
 - that this nation since 1917 has had no foreign policy worthy the name and no diplomacy worthy our history
 - that England has always known how to get what she wants. That is why the sun never sets on her Empire.
 - that sea blockades are illegal
 - that England was first to bomb cities at night. Germany did not retaliate for three months, negotiating for its discontinuance. England refused, citing their shortage of planes as the reason.
 - that British and German flyers greet each other with friendly politeness in the bars of neutral Lisbon, Portugal.
 - that so long as that spirit lives there is hope for mankind
 - that Bill 1776 was conceived by the brilliant and fertile brain of Felix Frankfurter, ably assisted by Morgenthau and Ben Cohen, as reported by Ray Tucker. Lawrence Dennis, author of "Dynamics of War and Revolution" calls the Jew's wish for war upon Germany "the most dynamic force in America today"
 - that London is the banking center of the world
 - that the banking House of Rothschilds once loaned England money to wage war upon France. His Majesty's Government was paying 2½%. Napoleon offered 3½% but the Baron refused. Napoleon asked, "Are you afraid your interest will not be forthcoming?" to which Rothschilds replied, "No, Bonaparte, it isn't a question of interest. If you win the war, you will control Europe. If England wins, I will control Europe." That was true, the three Rothschilds brothers have controlled the banking of England and Europe ever since.
 - that after this war was declared six million of England's plain people signed a petition asking that peace be negotiated at once
 - that the wish for peace in America is demonstrated by the fact that 85% of our people refuse to endorse war but that "aid short of war" is an illusion. A fleet of troop transports are being assembled at Norfolk, 4,500,000 identification tags have been ordered, (properly marked with the letters meaning "Killed in action", or "Wounded") 2,000,000 coffins, 4,000,000 surgical dressings, 3,000,000 cheap flag drapes for coffins
 - that many of these orders such as felt bands for tin hats were ordered in million lots two years ago. Conscription blanks were printed two years ago, long before conscription was discussed aloud for you and me to hear it
 - that populations are mere pawns in the hands of a few men who decide the fate of millions.
- When will we learn to say "No?"
- that the only way to please everybody you know all of the time is to say nothing, do nothing, see nothing, be nothing.

LOUISE N. WHEELWRIGHT.

NO C O N V O Y S - NO W A R

TELL IT TO CONGRESS AND THE CABINET THIS CONVENIENT WAY

Dear Fellow American:

Today this nation stands at the crossroads between war and peace. The overwhelming majority of the people, 83% strong, demand peace. A small but vocal minority advocates war.

CONVOYS MEAN WAR

Our public officials, from the President on down, have stated that convoys mean war -- not economic or diplomatic war but all-out actual shooting war. Convoys are not "short of war" -- they are war.

WE WERE PROMISED PEACE

The President and Congress were elected on a pledge to keep America out of war. The warmongers are using every effort to make the people's representatives break their pledge.

WHAT YOU CAN DO NOW

Fill the petition and return in the enclosed envelope. These petitions will be photographically reproduced and copies sent to the President, each member of the Cabinet and the entire Congress. Your petition will be reproduced 600 times in order that every man and woman in the Senate, House and Cabinet will receive a copy.

ACTION NOW

Here is your chance for direct, large-scale action. The future of our nation depends on results now. You'll be surprised how glad your friends will be to sign this petition. Please return by the first week in May.

Sincerely,

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
of Central Ohio

April 26, 1941

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

GENERAL ROBERT E. WOOD, Acting Chairman

JANET AYER FAIRBANK, Vice Chairman

HANFORD MacNIDER, Vice Chairman

R. DOUGLAS STUART, JR., Director

J. SANFORD OTIS, Treasurer

★

PRINCIPLES

1. Our first duty is to keep America out of foreign wars. Our entry would only destroy democracy, not save it. "The path to war is a false path to freedom."
2. Not by acts of war abroad but by preserving and extending democracy at home can we aid democracy and freedom in other lands.
3. In 1917 we sent our American ships into the war zone and this led us to war. In 1941 we must keep our naval convoys and merchant vessels on this side of the Atlantic.
4. We must build a defense, for our own shores, so strong that no foreign power or combination of powers can invade our country, by sea, air or land.
5. Humanitarian aid is the duty of a strong, free country at peace. With proper safeguard for the distribution of supplies, we should feed and clothe the suffering and needy people of the democracies of Europe.

Send me more information about the America First Committee, 141 West Jackson Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois.

Name.....

Address.....

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-6-86 BY SP6bjt/ty

CONVOYS mean war — a shooting, bloody war.

Senator Walter F. George, during the debate on H. R. 1776, admitted as much. William Allen White, as Chairman of the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies, wrote on December 23, 1940:

"The story is floating around that I and our committee are in favor of sending convoys with British ships or our own ships, a silly thing, for convoys, unless you shoot, are confetti and it's not time to shoot now or ever."

Just what is a convoy? A convoy is a protecting force, an armed escort, accompanying ships transporting munitions, merchandise and money to a nation at war. And what is a convoy for? It is supposed to fight off ships, submarines and airplanes that attack the supply vessels. And how does a convoy do that? By using its heavy guns, its torpedoes its anti-aircraft fire and by sinking the attacking ships and their crews.

In any man's language this means war, and an offensive war at that.

The Neutrality act of 1939 was passed during comparatively calm days when we knew we would need a wise policy for excited, emotional times such as we are now experiencing. This law prohibits our merchant vessels from entering zones defined by the President as combat areas.

This prohibition was written into the law at the insistence of the President himself. The President regarded this prohibition as the first objective of his policy. In the course of his message on September 21, 1939, to the special session of Congress which enacted the Neutrality law of 1939, President Roosevelt said:

"With the repeal of the embargo this Government clearly and definitely will insist that American citizens and American ships keep

away from the immediate perils of the actual zones of conflict."

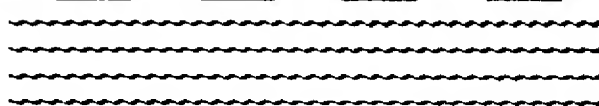
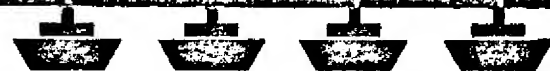
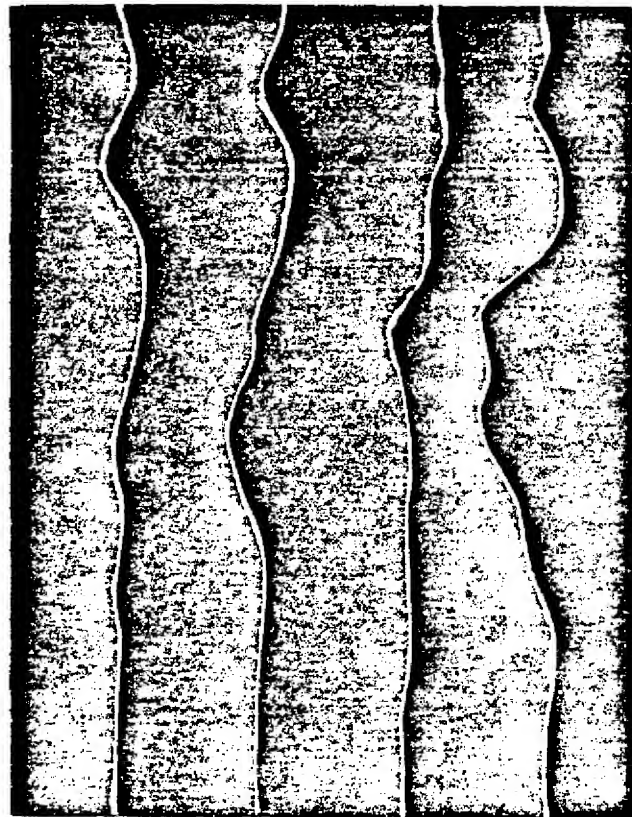
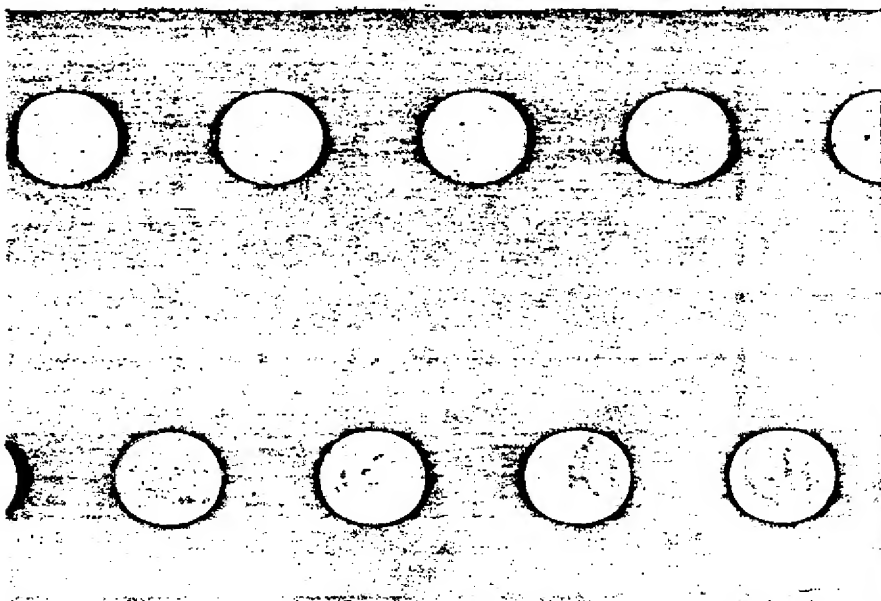
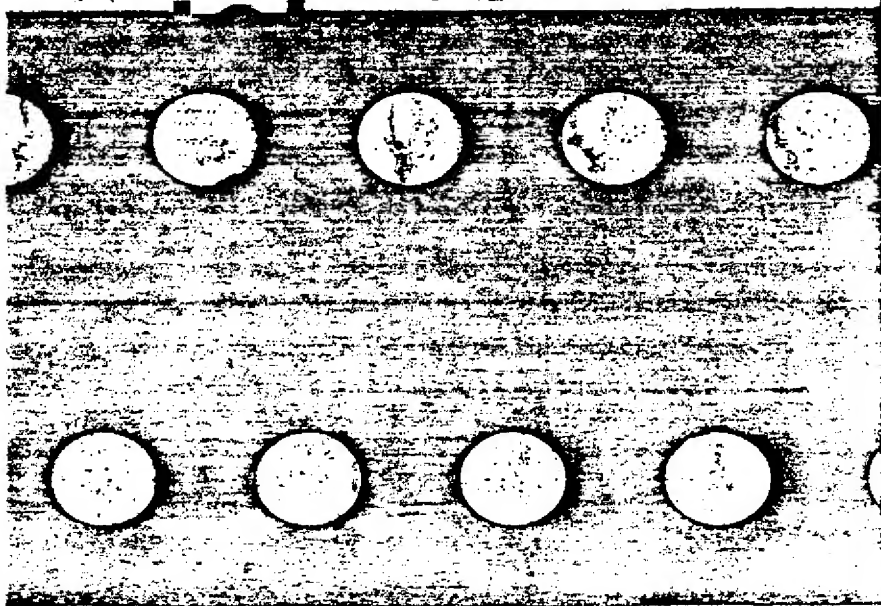
Both the opponents and proponents of the bill recognized that incidents which would certainly involve us in war could not occur if American vessels were kept out of danger zones. There is good, American common sense in such a policy.

The Neutrality act does not apply to the Navy. But if it is sound to keep our merchant ships out of dangerous waters it is twice as sound to keep our fighting ships out of these zones. When our vessels, both merchant and naval, do not sail into war zones, the possibility of embroilment in war abroad is radically lessened. The fact that not a single incident involving American ships has occurred on the high seas in this war shows the wisdom of this policy.

Almost every public man in the country, including Franklin D. Roosevelt and Wendell Willkie has pledged his opposition to "sending our boys abroad." This is also a pledge against naval convoys. Our warships are manned by American boys. American planes, piloted by American boys, will be needed to make the convoys effective. With our Navy and Air Force in the war, our Army will not be far behind.

The dictionary gives as one definition for convoy, "a funeral train." That is just what it will be for the United States if we permit our Navy to convoy supply ships to Britain. It will be a funeral train for millions of our boys killed in an unnecessary war and a funeral train for the remains of a democracy murdered in a foolhardy venture.

Americans, after all the hysterical propaganda, are still 83 per cent opposed to entry into war. By the same percentage, Americans must be opposed to convoys.



CONVOY

A FUNERAL TRAIN

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
General Robert E. Wood, Acting Chairman

National Headquarters
141 West Jackson Boulevard
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

12626

Federal Bureau of Investigation,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir:

The two inclosures have come to me lately unsolicited. Ordinarily I would have paid no attention to such trash, but in these days of totalitarian propaganda the smallest things may be important. Hence I am forwarding them to you for investigation if you deem it necessary.

Naturally my curiosity has been aroused as to whether the woman, whose name appears on the propaganda, pays for it, or whether another party or parties, perhaps inimical to the interests of the United States is paying the bill.

If you see fit to investigate and it is not against your rules I would appreciate it very much if you will inform me of the results.

Too, if there is any way in which I can serve you and through you my country in any way I will appreciate it if you will call on me.

Respectfully,

Stantonsburg, N.C.,
March 27, 1941.

Wilson County.

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DATE 5-6-86 BY SP6 bja/ky

RECORDED & INDEXED

100-4712-2
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
MAR 28 1941
5 OF 5

April 9, 1941

12625

RECORDED 100-4712-24

Stantonsburg, North Carolina

Dear [REDACTED]

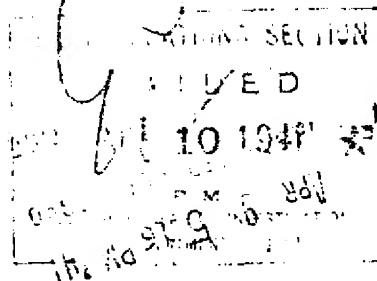
I wish to acknowledge receipt of your letter dated March 27, 1941 with enclosures and to thank you for your interest in writing to this Bureau.

You may be assured that the content of your communication and the material submitted therewith has been made a matter of official record at this Bureau.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. E. A. Tamm _____
Mr. Clegg _____
Mr. Foxworth _____
Mr. Glavin _____
Mr. Ladd _____
Mr. Nichols _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Carson _____
Mr. Quinn Tamm _____
Mr. Hendon _____
Mr. Tracy _____
Miss Gandy _____



b7c

March 17, 1941

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
SP. IN. 155000-11

14404

Major General Edwin M. Watson
Secretary to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

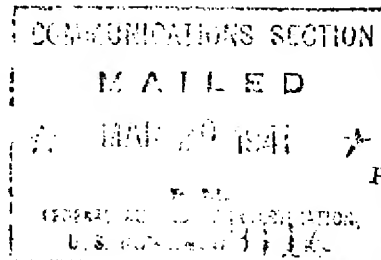
Dear General Watson:

As of possible interest to the President and you I am furnishing herewith a memorandum of information concerning the contemplated plans of the America First Committee.

With assurances of my highest regards,

Sincerely yours,

Enclosure



100-4712-25

EW

DX

FILE

Deleted Copy Sent R. W. Steele
by letter 3-8-76
Period Requested

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Federal Bureau of Investigation....
United States Department of Justice
1300 Biscayne Building
Miami, Florida

April 5, 1941

Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D.C.

Re: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
INTERNAL SECURITY -G.

Dear Sir:

b7c There is being transmitted herewith a booklet
entitled "IS THIS OUR WAR?" which was given out in a
meeting held by [REDACTED] b7D .

b7c
b7D [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] the organization "America First
Committee" intends to conduct a five week campaign
flooding different people and organizations with telegrams,
one of their purposes of this campaign being to wire the
Jergens Lotion company to curtail the activities of
WALTER WINCHELL.

b7c During the meeting [REDACTED] quoted from the
April issue of Scribners-Commentator and dealt particularly
on paragraphs on pages 5, 9 and 47.

The above information is being furnished the
Bureau for information purposes.

Very truly yours,

RECORDED
&
INDEXED
PERCY WYLY, III
Special Agent in Charge.

100-4712-2
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
7 APR 8 1941
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

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DATE 5-6-86 BY SP6 bja/tcy

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

UNITED STATES

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

WASHINGTON, D. C.

OFFICIAL BUSINESS

NOT THERE

Handwritten: 6/1/41

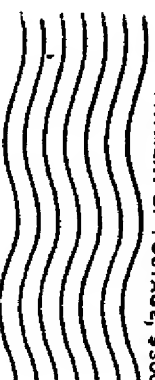


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DIRECTOR, FBI (100-371000)
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20535

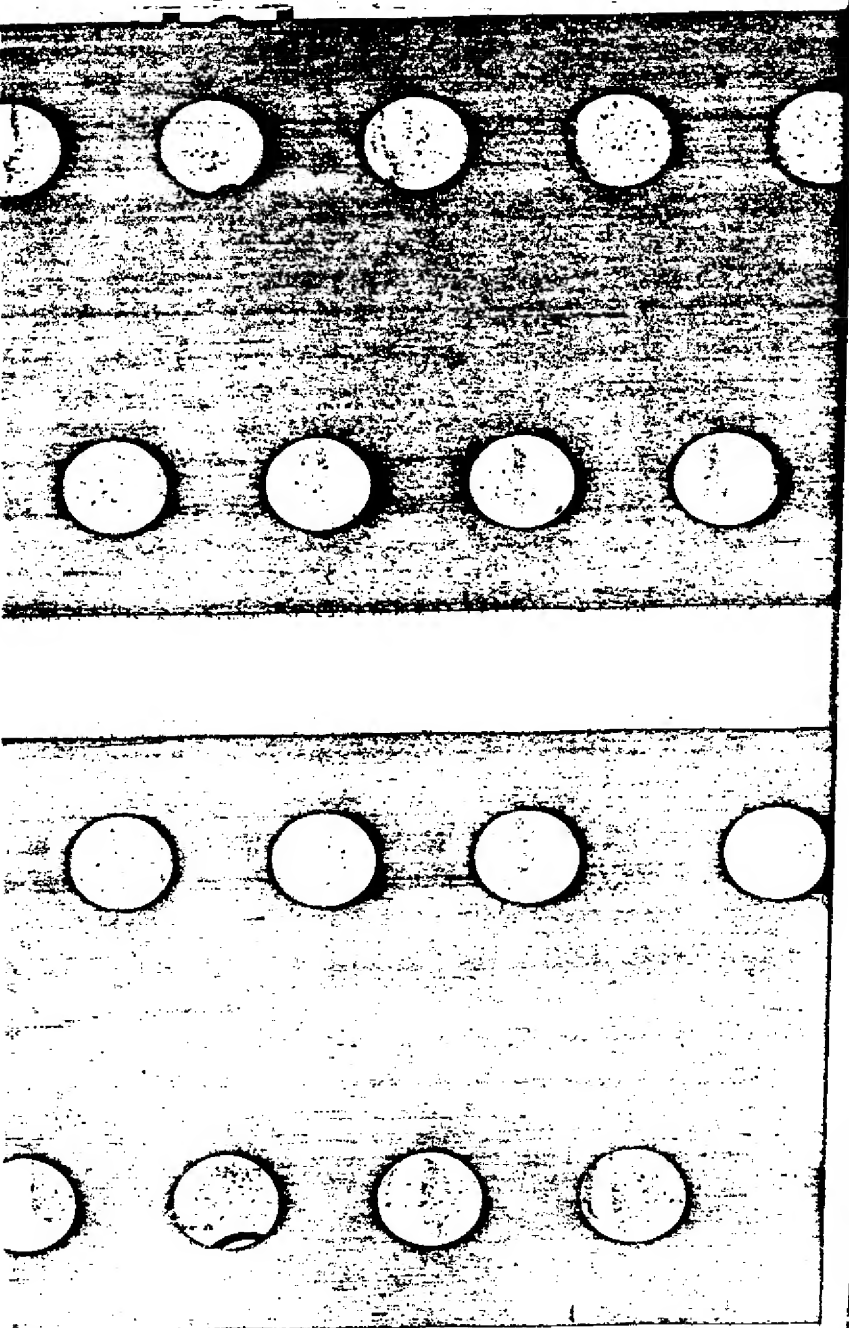


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HAS BEEN GIVEN
CHICAGO, ILL. (44)
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PENALTY FOR PRIVATE USE TO A
PAYMENT OF POSTAGE, \$300



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★ ★ ★ ★ ★

"Is This Our War?"

by

CLAY JUDSON

Member of the Firm of Wilson & McIlvaine
Former President of the Chicago Council
on Foreign Relations

★

Delivered before the

Chicago Bar Association

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 30, 1940

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DATE 5-6-86 BY SP6 bja/ta

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

National Headquarters

141 W. JACKSON BLVD.

CHICAGO

100-4712-26

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

100-4712-26

Principles

1. The United States must build an impregnable defense for America. With such a defense no foreign power, or group of powers, can successfully attack us.

2. With proper safeguards for the distribution of supplies and the maintenance of our neutrality, Americans should, to the limit of their ability, give humanitarian aid to the suffering and needy people of England and the occupied countries.

3. The cash and carry provisions of the existing Neutrality Act are essential to American peace and security. Within the limits of that Act, Americans may properly aid Great Britain. Aid to her beyond the limitations of the present Neutrality Act would weaken our defense at home, and might well involve us in conflict. We oppose any change in the law which would permit American vessels to enter the combat zone or which would permit the American navy to convoy merchant ships through that zone, as any such course would inevitably plunge this country into Europe's war.

4. Americans should and do cherish the ideals of democracy and abhor dictatorship, but the welfare of one hundred thirty million Americans and the preservation of democracy on this continent demand that the United States keep out of foreign wars.

Subsidiary Objectives

1. To bring together all Americans, regardless of possible differences on other matters, who see eye-to-eye on these principles. (This does not include Nazis, Fascists or Communists.)

2. To urge Americans to keep their heads amid rising hysteria in times of crisis.

3. To provide sane national leadership for the majority of the American people who want to keep out of the European war.

4. To register this opinion with the President and with Congress.

"IS THIS OUR WAR?"

An address by

CLAY JUDSON

of the

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

Delivered before Chicago Bar Association,

November 30, 1940

The crisis in our international relations continues. On the decisions which we make now may depend our national welfare for generations to come.

Those in power must decide daily the course of action to be followed under rapidly changing circumstances. They must decide whether to follow or ignore the continual pressure on our Government to go beyond the laws of neutrality and to send its own vessels, tanks, airplanes and guns to Great Britain. They must decide whether to finance Great Britain in this war, as we did in the last, and with the same results. They must decide whether to follow or oppose those who are already urging a change in our national policy and neutrality act so that we can aid Great Britain by sending our merchant vessels into the war zone, loaded with munitions for England. They must decide whether our navy shall be used to convoy vessels to and from England, a proposal made this week in Col. Knox's paper, the *Chicago Daily News*. And finally, the decision must be reached, after the internationalist group believes that it has finally made public opinion ready for the question, whether this nation should enter the war.

We Must Decide Now

The answer to all these definite problems will be found in the answer to one fundamental question: Is this our war? That is the question which the American people must think about and answer before it is too late.

If it is our war, clearly our participation must be to the

fullest extent possible at any given moment, regardless of the terrible cost in human life and human values which that participation would entail, and regardless of the certainty that our entry into this war would be a veritable cataclysm, and not a comparatively simple effort as it was the last time we made the world safe for democracy.

On the other hand, if this is not our war, we must so guide our steps as to avoid all risk of being drawn into it. We must give no aid to any belligerent which would violate the laws of neutrality, lead to sabotage and reprisal, and plunge us into the conflict.

It will therefore be my effort today to answer the fundamental question: Is this our war? That answer must be based not on our emotional reactions to the bombings of London, our deep affection and admiration for the English people, or our hatred of dictatorship; it must depend upon a logical analysis of the issues and alternatives before us, and our conclusion as to what is best for this country of one hundred thirty million people.

Because it seems difficult for many people to view the situation objectively, you are perhaps entitled to know something of the background of anyone who speaks on the question. Certainly, no one against whom there is any possible suspicion of harboring any ulterior motives should be listened to at such a time.

That fact leads me to make a few personal references to my own background. All my forbears are English or New York Dutch; most of them have been in this country at least three hundred years—none was German. My father was a graduate of West Point, and served throughout his life as an officer in the United States army.

I, myself, did not approve of our entry into the World War in 1917, but upon our declaration of war in April, 1917, the debate was over for me. It would be the same in 1940, if the interventionists should succeed in embroiling us once again.

In 1917 I entered the first officers' training camp immediately after war was declared and before I had quite completed the last year of my law course. I spent two

and one-half years in the army, seven months of which were in France and Germany. There is nothing in my life which starts me off with any prejudice so far as our international relations are concerned. I have only one thought in mind, and that is the welfare of this country.

What Are America's Objectives?

Before deciding whether this is our war we must know just what we are aiming at. There are several possible objectives for this country. One of them might be to crush Hitler and the evils of dictatorship. But this cannot be accomplished in any final sense by war, for these evils, which we hate and fear, are themselves the spawn of war, the products of blockade, military victory and military defeat. If we join in this mad destruction now going on, we will not terminate dictatorship. On the contrary, the ground will be made fertile for the wider and wider spread of Communism and the Nazi poison.

Is our main objective to preserve the British Empire no matter what the cost to us? If so, there can be no question as to what we should do about it. We should give everything we have to Great Britain. We should enter the war today on her side without limitation or reservation. It would be our war. But may I humbly suggest that however desirable the preservation of the British Empire may be, however desirable it may be for us to preserve the power of England, not only in the British Isles, but in Africa and in India, that is not a main objective of American foreign policy; an objective so powerful that we should actually go to war to attain it. If such were the case, our position would be merely that of a colony of Great Britain, with our foreign policy wholly subservient to the preservation of the Empire.

The statement has been made that it should be America's aim "to preserve law and order in the world." If that is our objective, God help us! It would mean complete abandonment of all hope for an American peace, abandonment of the policy of non-interference in foreign quarrels, and in place of that hope and that policy we

would undertake the job of policing the world! Perpetual war would be our lot, and the permanent maintenance of an overpowering military machine.

"UNITY" Must Be Defined

Of late we have been told that every American should be for national unity. So that, perhaps, has become an objective. Superficially considered, it might seem that everyone must be for "unity." But when the searcher for truth scratches beneath the surface he finds that it is not to be "unity" for improving the lot of the underprivileged in America; it is not to be "unity" for preserving democracy in the United States; it is not to be "unity" to keep this country out of war; but, believe it or not, it is to be "unity" to aid Great Britain!

The same day that the campaign for national unity was launched, William Allen White, Chairman of the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies, announced that "Unity Mass Meetings" would be held throughout the nation within the next few days. He further stated "The mass meetings should plead for unity of national spirit in support of a foreign policy to defend America by aiding the allies."

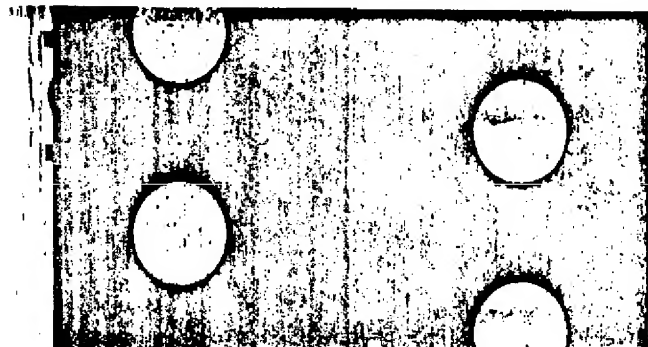
I daresay that each of us would like to have unanimous support for his own point of view. But freedom to express one's opinion, freedom within the framework of government to oppose a particular national policy, is, in time of peace, the very essence of democracy. Doubtless the greatest political unity on earth today is found in Germany. There it is enforced by the Gestapo. Let us preserve political freedom here, and let us use that freedom to avoid any action that will involve us in this European holocaust. If we are to have unity, let it be for the defense of America; let it be to carry out the oft-repeated pledge of both candidates for President, to keep this country out of war.

Is our main objective to make ourselves safe? This, it seems to me, should be, and must be, one of the main purposes of our foreign and military policy. If it is, we

should certainly prepare for the defense of this continent so that no nation can successfully attack us here. But this does not mean that we should be led by panic into war today on the theory that if we do not fight now we may have to fight tomorrow! We may not have to fight tomorrow. If we are strong and exercise self-restraint, we need not fight now or within the limits of the predictable future. Certainly we would be better able to crush an enemy who tomorrow, in his madness, might seek to attack us across three thousand miles of sea, than we would today to invade a continent three thousand miles away.

Our First Line of Defense

It has been said that England is our first line of defense. This point deserves a short examination. Just what do we mean by a first line of defense? We mean, I take it, that line which we will first defend. Now, theoretically, we could adopt a military policy which would establish our first line of defense at any place on the globe. We might say it is in England. We might urge that it is on the Rhine, or at the European borders of European Russia, or even in Siberia. Or, going around the globe the other way, we might have as our policy the establishment of our first line of defense at the Panama Canal, Hawaii, and Alaska; or perhaps Guam and the Philippines, or even Japan or China. In fact, if we were not careful our first line of defense on the east might meet our first line of defense on the west! It is all a question of policy. Our first line of defense, on both the east and the west, is properly our own navy, our own air force, our own coast line, and so much of the rest of this continent and its adjacent islands as is necessary for our own military security, without entering the European or Asiatic arenas. Any other policy would inevitably and perpetually involve us in European and Asiatic squabbles. It is dangerous doctrine to establish our military frontier in other nations thousands of miles across the sea, and to depend on the army and navy of other nations for our own defense.



Though one of our major objectives, therefore, is to make ourselves safe, this does not mean establishing our frontiers on the English battle front. It does not mean that this is our war.

† Our OWN Democracy Must Be Preserved!

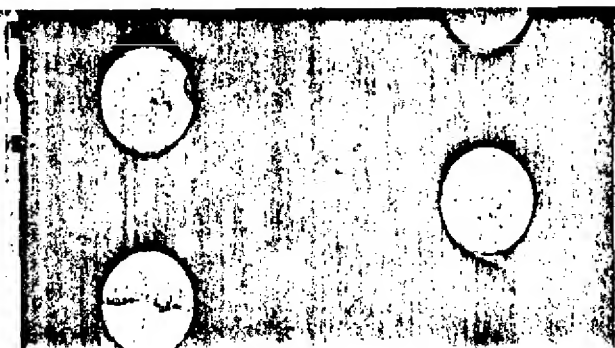
Is our goal the preservation of democracy in this country? I believe that this should be one of our principal objectives, along with the military safety of this country. If it is, we must certainly pursue a course which above everything else will keep us out of war. We cannot enforce democracy on Europe or on Asia by force and arms! We tried that in 1917. We fought then to make the world safe for democracy—and what happened to democracy in Italy, in Russia, in Japan, three of our principal allies—and in Germany, our vanquished enemy? To preserve democracy in the world we must have peace.

To summarize: Our legitimate national objectives are to make this country safe and to preserve democracy here. Both objectives demand peace, not war.

It may help to clarify the situation if we examine some of the arguments of those who favor war for us now.

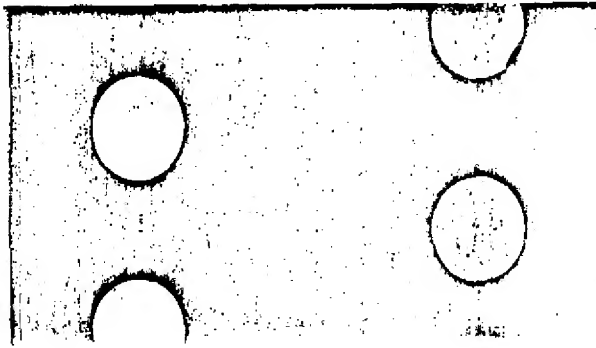
Arguments for War

In a recent article in the *Chicago Daily News*, William Stoneman, that journalist's correspondent in England, who had just returned from London, pointed out Great Britain's tremendous desire that the United States should join in the war now. And one of the most forceful arguments for this, from the British point of view, was that it would stiffen their morale and remove any possibility of a compromise peace. In other words, America is to exhaust the wealth and man power of this country and of the world in a devastating war so that peace may be postponed until Germany is destroyed, until millions of the best youth in all lands have been killed or maimed, until what is left of the victors are in a position to grant a dictated peace to what is left of the vanquished! A rosy picture, and a persuasive reason for us to make this our war.



Our interventionist friends are fond of calling attention to the fact that neutrality has not worked in Europe; that many neutral nations, Norway, Denmark, Holland, Belgium, were overrun by the German juggernaut; and that it will be the same with us if we continue to maintain a peaceful position in this hemisphere. An examination of this proposition immediately shows its fallacy. These comparatively weak little nations of Europe were literally in Germany's front yard—a few hours' drive by a powerful tank to their very center, or in the case of Norway, a fifteen minute flight by bombers and fighting planes. Is there any possible analogy between their position and that of the richest, most powerful industrial nation in the world, three thousand miles across the Atlantic, possessing the greatest navy on earth, backed up by one hundred thirty million people? It is true that neither neutrality nor the armies of Britain and France saved Norway, Denmark, Holland and Belgium. This was not, however, because those countries were neutral, but because they were weak and close at hand, and because Germany needed a flank from which to roll up the Maginot line, and bases from which to attack Great Britain. America is not Norway, or Denmark, or Holland, or Belgium. Our policy must be fitted to America and bears no relation whatsoever to the experiences or the trials or the troubles of those little nations in the heart of Europe.

With a clairvoyance to which I cannot pretend, the interventionists paint a most fantastic picture of the world which would result from a German victory or a compromise peace in Europe. I do not know what that world would be; I do not know what Germany, exhausted by a conflict involving terrible destruction, concerned with her conquered territories, could, or would want to, undertake in this continent. I believe that we should and would be strong enough to resist her no matter what she undertook to do which might endanger our safety. None of the evils of peace, following a cessation of hostilities between European powers, no matter who may be the victor, could possibly involve losses to this country which actual war would bring.



One of the threats held up to induce us to enter this war now is that a victorious Germany would not trade with us. If we have goods which other nations want, and they have what we want, there will be trade in the future as there has been in the past. This country should not enter a European war on the theory that such action will in some way better our trade relations and avoid a risk, which may never eventuate, and which, today, has no existence save in the heated imagination of the internationalists. It may be that the terms on which we could trade with a German controlled Europe might not be our terms. But they would have to be satisfactory to both parties or there would be no trade. Germany and Japan have greater need for our products than we have for theirs. Germany is suffering from a blockade today, though she controls all of central Europe. Does anyone seriously believe that in time of peace she would refuse to trade with the rest of the world, and thus in effect voluntarily impose such a blockade upon herself? And in any commerce of the future I have faith in the Yankee trader's ability to hold his own.

We Cannot Be Successfully Invaded

The interventionist has one prize arrow in his quiver. It is the threat of invasion by Germany. This spectre is conjured out of thin air for one purpose, to drive us by panic into war now in order to avoid the assumed threat of war in the future. Let us remember the facts. Germany, with air bases only twenty miles away, has been unable to invade England. It is unthinkable that she could succeed in any attack against us across three thousand miles of sea. Aviation experts, such as Major Al Williams and Colonel Lindbergh are agreed that an air invasion is impossible. But even if we make the preposterous assumption that Germany's air force could successfully attack this country, there are not enough vessels in the world to transport, at one time, the necessary army to drive home such an attack. During the last World War, it is true, we

transported some two million troops to France. It took us a year and a half to do it, and those troops landed on a friendly coast, protected by a sea power infinitely greater than that of the enemy, and at a time when the combatant power of an air force was relatively undeveloped. There is no possible comparison between the landing of our expeditionary force in France during the World War and the hypothetical landing of a German invading force in a hostile America, defended by the greatest fleet in the world and by thousands of airplanes flying from their home bases. We must have a strong military and naval defense of this country, so strong that any such attack from over-seas would be unthinkable and doomed to failure if made. But we must not be tricked into desperate action based on unreasonable panic.

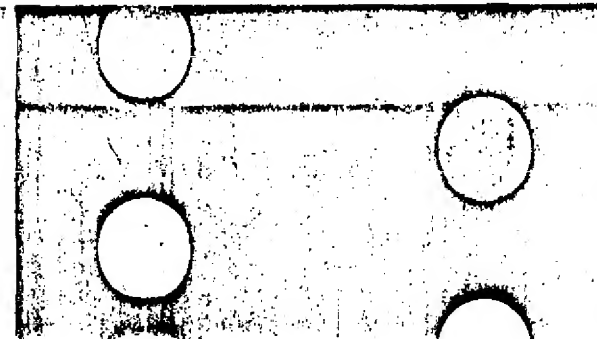
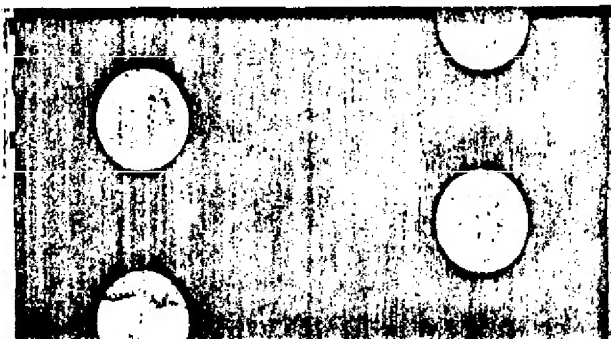
If there were ever any fear of military danger to the safety of this country, that fear must have been dissipated by the speech of Colonel Frank Knox, Secretary of the Navy, on November 14, 1940. He said:

"Now, in all of the continent of Europe, only one nation, one great power survives with its independence—Great Britain.

"Why? Because of all the great powers in Europe, England alone enjoys an insular position. Due to the unmatched gallantry and superb skill and the devotion of the Royal Air Force of Britain we are frequently all too prone to say that the weapon that stopped the Germans was air force alone.

"I would not detract one iota from the great praise which is properly given to that element of British defense. But, my friends, if you analyze the picture carefully it was 27 miles of open water plus British sea power and air power that saved the British Isles from the invader's heel.

"It was because the German could not cross that Channel, denied that passage by sea power, plus air power, that today England, like France, is not a conquered country.



"Now, the truth, and I'm sure if you haven't already thought of it, now that I mention it, you will see its force, this truth was of extremely great pertinence for us because we, too, have that tremendous advantage—we're insular in our geography too.

"What is perhaps of equal importance, our insularity arises not from a narrow strip of water 27 miles wide, but because we are bounded on either side by wide oceans, and with this factor for our defense, the only way in which a successful invasion of the Western Hemisphere can be accomplished is over the surface of the sea.

"You may say 'what about air power and its importance?' I do not underestimate it in the slightest degree, but, so long as the law of gravity remains, a significant attack by air is impossible."

Does Might Make Right?

One further argument, not in the realm of practical affairs but of ethics, should also be noted. It is said that we must participate in this war to prove to the world that might does not make right! And how are we to do this? By adding our might to that of the mightiest Empire on earth so that the German nation may be crushed by that combined and superior might! I doubt if that would prove to Germany, Italy, Japan, or any other nation, that might does not make right!

And what about Russia and Communism? At present all the nations, including Great Britain, even including the United States, seem to be flirting with the Soviet Union. The only Ambassador we still have in Europe is in Moscow. Yet this struggle is said to be for democracy against dictatorship! Is it that we prefer the Communist dictatorship to that of National Socialism? Russia sits enigmatically on the side lines hoping for the spread of ruin and desolation in the rest of the world, hoping that



the United States, too, will enter the arena, believing that out of this war, if we enter it, and its inevitable aftermath, will come the spread of Communism like wild-fire throughout the world.

The aid we should give to Great Britain, therefore, is limited by the risk of war which is involved. I hope that so long as we act in accord with the cash and carry provisions of the Neutrality Act, war may be avoided. If we cast neutrality aside and send our own vessels, planes and guns to England, the danger of war is immensely increased. If we actually send our merchant ships to England loaded with munitions, if we actually use our own navy to convoy these vessels, no reasonable man could have any question of the immediate results.

The Public Deserves Honest Dealing

Before the interventionists put all their cards on the table and frankly admitted that they believed in aiding England no matter what risk of war that involved, we were told that one purpose of furnishing armaments to European, or even to Asiatic, belligerents was actually to keep us out of war. This seems to me so far fetched that it is difficult to believe in the sincerity of those who make the suggestion. Certainly when it comes from the William Allen White Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies, it must be received with a grain of salt. That greatest of all war propaganda agencies organized a great mass meeting in Chicago recently. And who were the two principal speakers chosen by the leaders of this movement to arouse the mass meeting? Dorothy Thompson and Admiral Standley, both of whom are in favor of our entry into war. On November 20, my old friend and classmate, James Conant, President of Harvard University, speaking for the William Allen White Committee, urged that it was "purely a matter of strategy whether at some later time active belligerency is required" by the United States. Can we believe for a moment that these advocates of war are urging the sending of ships, planes and guns to Great Britain



to keep us o... when they think we should, be in?
Surely it is obvious to any observer of world affairs that the way for us to get into war is by casting neutrality aside and putting the entire weight of our industrial (and military) strength in the scales on behalf of one of the belligerents. That is the road to war, unless the eyes of the American people are opened and our march along it is checked.

Let Us Preserve Our Democracy

Our goal should be the preservation and development on this continent of the processes of democracy and of civilization, of culture, understanding, and the good life. To be led by emotions and words of hate and bitterness into the fiery furnace of war today would not only imperil our objectives; they might well be lost at the very outset.

If, then, our guiding star is the maintenance of peace for America (not as an end in itself but as a means to working out the destiny of this nation and the fulfillment of its ideals), we should not enter this war. We should not pursue any course which will lead us, step by step, to the precipice. We must prepare ourselves so that no nation would dare attack us, or could succeed if it did dare. But we should not make this war in Europe our war. That way lie the very evils we should seek to avoid. That way lie destruction, Communism, Fascism and dictatorship. For these things are the products of war, not of peace

Clay Judson
11-28-40

If you, as an American citizen, believe that our first duty is to our own country, join the America First Committee by signing your name below and mail to the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE, 141 W. Jackson Blvd., Chicago, Illinois.

I wish to join the America First Committee.

- In addition, I will ☐ arrange with my local theater to show the Committee's film, "Which Way America?" ☐ urge my local radio station to broadcast transcribed talks by the Committee's speakers.*
- ☐ *write to my Congressman, and urge others to do so.*
- ☐ *I am enclosing a list of names of others who are interested and to whom literature should be sent*
- ☐ *I am enclosing \$_____ to support the work of the America First Committee. (Make your check payable to the America First Committee.)*

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____

STATE _____

The work of the Committee is supported entirely by voluntary contributions of time or money.

National Committee

GENERAL ROBERT E. WOOD, *Acting Chairman*
R. DOUGLAS STUART, JR., *National Director*
J. SANFORD OTIS, *Treasurer*

CHESTER BOWLES
DR. A. J. CARLSON
WILLIAM R. CASTLE
MRS. BENNETT CHAMP CLARK
IRVIN S. COBB
JANET AYER FAIRBANK
JOHN T. FLYNN
BISHOP WILBUR E. HAMMAKER
GEN. THOMAS HAMMOND

JAY C. HORMEL
GEN. HUGH S. JOHNSON
CLAY JUDSON
KATHRYN LEWIS
ALICE ROOSEVELT LONGWORTH
FRANK O. LOWDEN
HANFORD MACNIDER
THOMAS N. MCCARTER
RAY MCKAIG

STERLING MORTON
AMOS R. E. PINCHOT
WILLIAM H. REGNERY
CAPT. EDWARD RICKENBACKER
EDWARD L. RYERSON, JR.
LOUIS J. TABER
MRS. BURTON K. WHEELER
DR. GEORGE H. WHIPPLE
MAJOR ALFORD J. WILLIAMS

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER
DIRECTOR

**Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.**

May 1, 1941

b7c
[REDACTED]
Chicago, Illinois

Dear [REDACTED]

I desire to acknowledge receipt of your letter dated April 5, 1941.

Please be advised that the information contained therein has been carefully noted and is being incorporated in the official files of the FBI. In the event you obtain any additional information in this same regard, it is suggested that you communicate with Mr. W. S. Devereaux, Special Agent in Charge, Federal Bureau of Investigation, United States Department of Justice, 1900 Bankers' Building, Chicago, Illinois.

Your courtesy in bringing this matter to my attention is indeed appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

J. E. Hoover
John Edgar Hoover
Director

CHICAGO FIELD OFFICE

3-27-29
K69

100-4712-27

b7c
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/6/86 BY SP6 bja/ky

b7c [REDACTED]
Chicago, Ill.
April 5th, 1941

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
F.B.I.
Washington, D.C.

My dear sir:

I attended one meeting of Lincoln Park Chapter of the America First Committee and to my surprise I found that a young woman who was formerly deeply interested in communism and later switched to nazism was acting as Sec'y.

I saw many of her friends sitting in the front row who have always been known as communists and nazi sympathizers, and I believe that an investigation of that particular chapter should be made before the subversive element has completely taken over with its usual subtle suavity.

I hope that I am wrong in my surmises but my feelings are intensely American and I am sure that that chapter needs to be well weeded, else the harvest will be something that we do not wish to reap in this country.

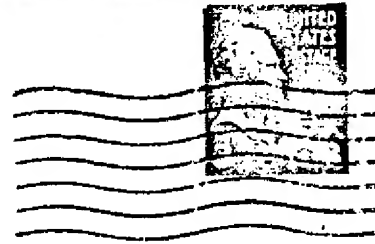
Respectfully,
[REDACTED]

RECORDED & INDEXED

[REDACTED] b7c
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/6/86 BY SP-6 bja/tcy

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
6 APR 7 1941
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FIVE

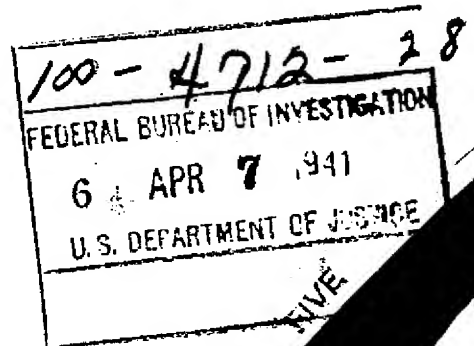
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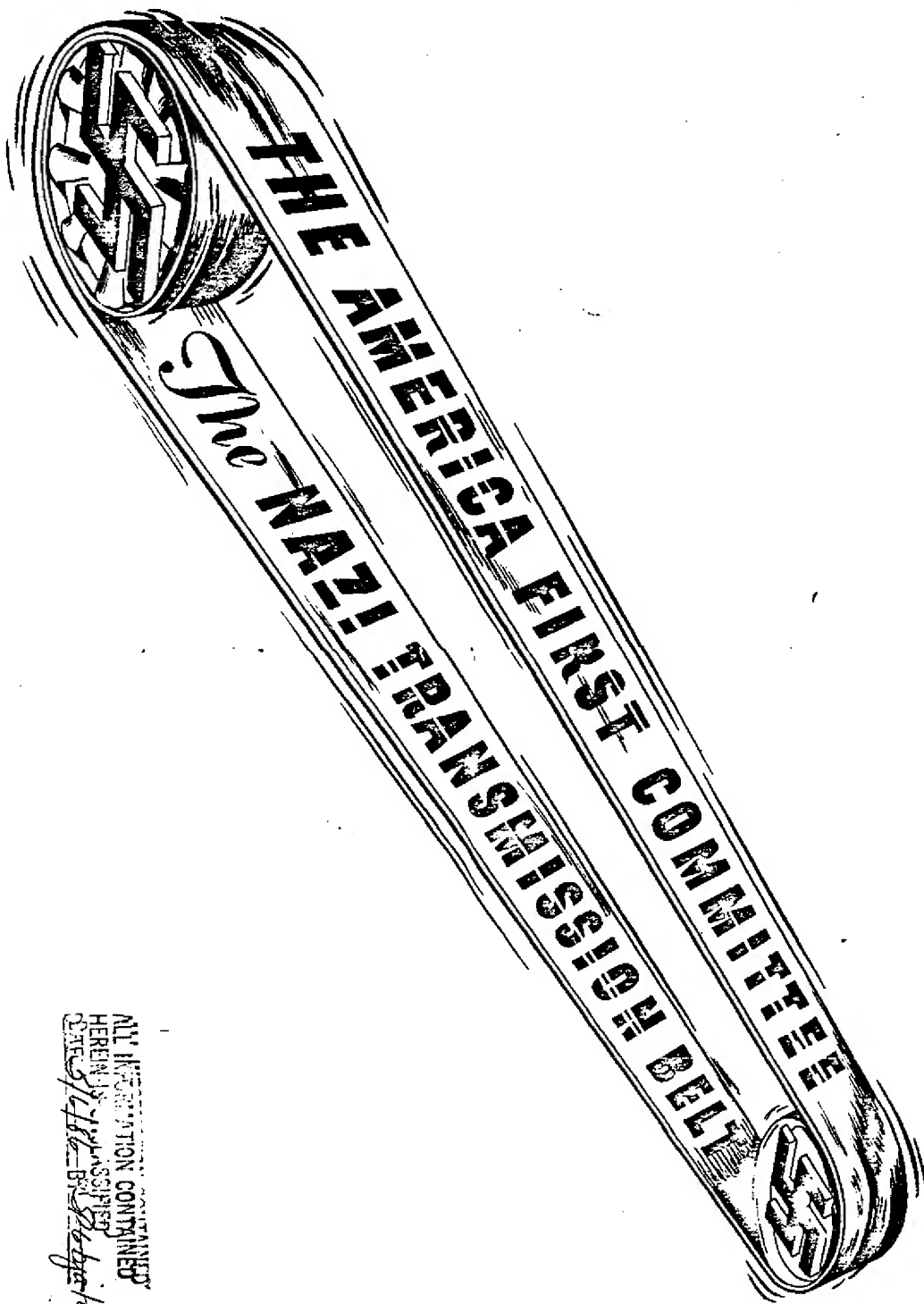
Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington
D.C.

To Horney
One of the prize writers on the ~~xxxx~~ staff of the America First
Committee is an out-and-out Nazi, [REDACTED] (NOTE-
[REDACTED] NOT SURE OF THIS, SHOULD BE CHECKED BEFORE USING.)" b7c

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DATE 5/6/86 BY SP6 bja/tcy



100-4712-28X



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9/14/86 BY SP-6/Hay

100-9746-1

Whether They Know It Or Not —

The America First Committee, whether its members know it or not and whether they like it or not, is a Nazi front!

It is a transmission belt by means of which the apostles of Nazism are spreading their anti-democratic ideas into millions of American homes!

This is not to say that the America First Committee is a Nazi organization. On the contrary, the great majority of its officers and members are patriotic Americans who sincerely believe that this nation should pursue a policy of isolationism and appeasement.

But that is exactly what Adolf Hitler and his disciples in the United States believe, and they are using—or misusing—the America First Committee to spread those ideas.

We do not question the integrity of the leadership and membership of the America First Committee nor the sincerity of its program. But we do seriously question the wisdom of the policy-makers and the soundness of a policy which has the unqualified approval of Adolf Hitler, Benito Mussolini and their agents in the United States. It is no secret that the Axis wishes for and works toward the destruction of democracy throughout the world.

In its war upon democracy the Axis has no more effective ally in the United States than the America First Committee. This is true because the America First Committee denounces the Axis

while it advocates a foreign policy favorable to the Axis. Thus, it is more effective than any Nazi agent or organization, for it does not bear the stigma of an alien loyalty.

Recognizing this basic fact, the American organizations committed to totalitarianism have rallied around the banner of the America First Committee. The following pages will show how they operate openly at meetings of the America First Committee; how they distribute the literature of the Committee and recruit members; how they publicize the Committee in the American Nazi press; how the propaganda ministries in Berlin and Rome publicize the Committee on an international scale.

Friends of Democracy has always opposed front organizations serving as transmission belts for both Communists and Nazis. To us it seems unfortunate that the America First Committee, whose members in times past have fought the transmission belts of the Communists, now finds itself functioning as a Nazi transmission belt.

And it is equally unfortunate that a group of American citizens, consciously or unconsciously, is giving aid and comfort to an enemy whose very existence has caused the United States to spend billions of dollars in a rearmament program.

HITLER'S ARGUMENTS THROUGH THE MOUTHS OF THE AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE SPOKESMEN

—From Senator Wheeler by Radio,
March 3, 1941:

"Now we find these same international bankers with their friends the royal refugees and with the Sassoons of the Orient and with the Rothschilds and Warburgs of Europe in another theme song . . . 'Our investments in India, Africa and Europe must be preserved. Save democracy!'"

—From Hitler, July 19, 1940:

"The Jewish capitalistic warmongers, their hands stained with blood, saw their tangible pretext for realizing their diabolical plans vanish. Once again we witness a conspiracy of . . . money-grabbing financial magnates for whom war was a welcome means for furthering their aims."

—From Senator Nye to the Senate,
March 4, 1941:

"The greatest aggressor in all modern history has been the British Empire. . . . The Empire is the despotic, arbitrary and sometimes tyrannical rule over almost half a billion people. . . . It is this Empire that is calling us in the name of democracy."

—From Hitler to the German People,
January 30, 1940:

"England had gradually built up her so-called world empire by force. Nation after nation was crushed and the structure was created which was called the British Empire."

These two Senators, Burton K. Wheeler of Montana (Dem.) and Gerald P. Nye of North Dakota (Rep.), have served the America First Committee as spokesmen. The wife of the Montana Senator, Lulu M. White Wheeler, is extremely active in the affairs of the America First Committee. So is their son, John Leonard Wheeler, who is known to be one of the heads of the America First Committee in Los Angeles, California.

The Nazis Pack the Hall

ADMIT TWO	★ America First Committee ★	★ TO
R A L L Y	★ Keep America Out of War Congress ★	SAVE AMERICA FROM WAR!
	★ MECCA ★	
	★ AUDITORIUM ★	
	★ 133 West 55th Street ★	
	★ THURSDAY EVE. ★	
★ 8:15 P.M. ★	★ FEB. 20, 1941 ★	★
★	★ No Reserved Seats ★	★
★	★ Doors Open 7 P.M. ★	★
★	★ Speakers ★	★
★	★ SENATOR GERALD P. NYE ★	★
★	★ DOROTHY DUNBAR BROMLEY ★	★
★	★ JOHN T. FLYNN ★	★
★	★ REV. LAURENCE T. BOSSE ★	★
★	★ NORMAN THOMAS ★	★
★	★ GENERAL ROBERT E. WOOD ★	★
★	★ OTHERS ★	★
★	★ MUSIC ★	★

The biggest show of the America First Committee thus far was a mass meeting at Mecca Temple New York City, on February 20th. The stage was occupied by spokesmen of the America First Committee, but a large part of the audience belonged to New York's petty fascists who desire not peace but a Nazi victory. Members of the Nazified American Destiny Party were there because their leader, Joe McWilliams, had said to them: "I want every one of you who can to go to the important meeting at Mecca Temple." So were members of other pro-Nazi outfits—the Paul Revere Sentinels, the Christian Front, the American Nationalists, the German-American Bund and the Kyffhäuser Bund. As always, the America First Committee served as a transmission belt to relay Adolf Hitler's propaganda to his American disciples.

FEBRUARY

Social Justice

NATIONAL WEEKLY

Founded 1936 by Father Coughlin

Royal Oak, Michigan

February 17, 1941

Subscription Price: Three Dollars Per Year

10¢

2,000 in N. Y. Cheer Christian Front Boys

(Story on Page 7)

'Merchandisers of Murder', a Fr. Coughlin Broadcast



COMMENT ON WORLD EVENTS

BRITISH FINANCE PUTS A SADDLE ON ASSETS HUNG OUT

AMERICAN PORTFOLIO: R. K. WHEELER, PEACE CRUSADER

Hawkers of Father Coughlin's anti-Semitic magazine, *Social Justice*, did a thriving business. This is understandable, because the issue on sale contained an article in praise of "B. K. Wheeler, Peace Crusader." Senator Wheeler,

whose wife is a member of the national committee of the America First Committee, has become a hero not only of the anti-Semitic, fascist-minded radio priest but of all who would substitute totalitarianism for democracy in the United States.

... And Steal the Show

PAUL REVERE SENTINELS, INC., AND ASSOCIATE
PATRIOTIC AMERICAN ORGANIZATIONS

232 EAST 42nd STREET,
NEW YORK CITY, NEW YORK

YOU ARE CALLED TO THE DEFENSE OF YOUR COUNTRY. TO THE DEFENSE OF
THE LIVES OF YOUR SONS.

PERSUADE YOUR U.S. SENATE DEFEAT H R 1776.

But some of the anti-democratic organizations did not sell their wares. They gave them away. The Paul Revere Sentinels, most of whom are disciples of Father Coughlin, handed out mimeographed leaflets. The Constitutionalist Press, whose publisher refused to vote for Wendell Willkie because the candidate repudiated Father Coughlin, distributed pamphlets. Henchmen of the Yorkville fuhrer, Joe McWilliams, distributed anti-Semitic leaflets urging the audience to "Demand the refugees fight Hitler this time and leave our boys at home, where they belong as Christians." Other literature, both Communist and Fascist, was distributed by means of the transmission belt.

Why Destroy America?

Franklin Delano Roosevelt shows his Complete Contempt for All American Tradition (that is, Contempt for all that has made this Nation what it is today) by Seeking through the Bill H R 1776 to Unbridled Forces of a Nation, to be a Dictator. Dictator? Yes! Makes a Dictator. of the Constitution of the United States. Var Lords Dic-

Published by
The Constitutionist Press
Carnegie Hall
New York City, N. Y.

Franklin Delano Roosevelt has been a traitor to the American Tradition. In 1932, he showed himself a traitor to the American Tradition that a Party Platform is made with the People. He has shown all along his contempt for the American Tradition of Liberty by Substituting the Regimentation of the Dictator for the Freedom of Men for the

This day there are 50,000 veterans of the last World War in the military hospitals of this country.

Without one or both eyes, legs and arms gone, shell-shocked, saliva drooling idiots.

Demand the refugees fight Hitler this time and leave our boys at home, where they belong as Christians.

Yes, the Nazis stole the show. A newspaperman wrote: "They applauded violently as Senator Burton K. Wheeler, Senator Gerald P. Nye and Norman Thomas predicted that this country faced war and dictatorship if the lend-lease bill passed. With great heartiness they booed President Roosevelt, Wendell Willkie. Mayor LaGuardia, Walter Lipp-

they shouted 'The Jews, the Jews!' and 'Morgenthau and Cohen' when speakers discussed public sentiment in favor of all-out aid to Britain." And when the meeting was over, it was not the leaders of the America First Committee who shook hands with the audience as it left, but Joe McWilliams — he who openly

Chicago Nazis Solicit Funds

AFFILIATED WITH THE NATIONAL FEDERATION OF AMERICAN CITIZENS OF GERMANIC DESCENT

GERMAN AMERICAN NATIONAL ALLIANCE

NEWS LETTER

VOLUME 3

FEBRUARY

President E. G. G. - President
Otto Schwarck - Vice President
Dr. Walter Silge - Secretary
Henry Johnk - Fin. Secretary
Max Woedicke - Treasurer

WELL KNOWN SPEAKERS HAVE BEEN ARRANGED FOR THE FOLLOWING DATES

NORTH SIDE: Monday evening, Feb. 10, 1941
8:00 P.M. in the Lincoln Turner Hall.

SOUTH SIDE: Friday evening, Feb. 21, 1941
at 8:00 P.M. in the Deutsches Haus, 5159 South Ashland Avenue.

WEST SIDE: Members will be notified by Post Card.

DELEGATE MEETING: Thursday evening, Feb. 27, 1941, in the Lincoln Turner Hall.

AID TO GREAT BRITAIN (Cont'd)

aiding you in your fight to save the lives of the sons of America and to preserve American institutions and the American way of life. Assist these committees in their fight for your assist them financially and morally. You need money to arouse the public. Assist these committees at once. Here are the names and addresses of these committees who are against war, etc.:

Citizens Keep America Out of War Committee
77 West Washington Street,
Chicago, Illinois.

America First Committee,
Board of Trade Building,
Chicago, Illinois.

Jan. 25, 1941

Paul A. F. Warnhoefer

Do YOU Want PEACE FOR AMERICA?

If So:

(A) WRITE or TELEGRAPH to the two U. S. SENATORS of your state and ask them to defeat the DICTATOR and WAR BILL H. R. 1776.

(B) SUPPORT FINANCIALLY the committees, who help in the fight AGAINST war. Send from \$1.00 upward to:

CITIZENS KEEP AMERICA OUT OF WAR COMMITTEE.
77 West Washington Street.
Chicago, Illinois.

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE.
Board of Trade Building,
Chicago, Illinois.

(C) ASK YOUR FRIENDS TO DO LIKEWISE.

DO IT NOW! REMEMBER:

If the war-mongering clique wins, YOUR BOY may be commanded very soon to march to HIS DEATH.

THE U. S. SENATE MUST NOT ABDICATE IN FAVOR OF A DICTATORSHIP.

GANA P. O. Box 492 Chicago

The German American National Alliance of Chicago also calls itself the *Einheitsfront*, or "United Front." Its Nazi origin and connections are well known.

The German American National Alliance brazenly uses the transmission-belt technique. It calls upon its members to work through the America First Committee and the Citizens' Keep America Out of War Committee. The "United Front" is to be extended to include the two "anti-war" committees. "Assist them

mittees at once!" Such is the shrill command of the *Einheitsfront* to Hitler-lovers in the Middle West.

America First? Keep Out of War? Handy names and slogans for those who are neither patriots nor pacifists but mere handmaidens of the Axis!

America First? It is America First-Aid to the Nazis!

Keep Out of War? It is but a brown herring dragged across the stage.

N.Y. Nazis Recruit Members

JOHN B. SNOW
18 EAST 48TH STREET
NEW YORK
—
TELEPHONE PLAZA 3-8088

Fellow Americans:

The campaign pledges of both w
armed forces would not be call
Asiatic or European.

47,00

In spite of this, the prop
the people" will continue

1. Those who would
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on different
war to "prey
cannot be w
2. All anti-
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To keep out of
of all America

We must wel
America fir
Robert E.
Committee

I appeal
America
groups

proke

delivered before the
Council on Foreign Relations
Friday, October 4, 1940

with an introduction by
MR. CLAY JUDSON
former President
of the Council on Foreign Relations

For the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
National Headquarters
1806 Board of Trade Building
CHICAGO

America First Committee,
New York Chapter,
49 East 53rd St., New York City

I subscribe to the aims of the America First Committee. Please enroll me as a member. I declare that I
am an American citizen and in no way connected with any foreign power or subversive organization.

Name

Street

City

Telephone

See other Side

Another "friend" of the America First Committee is wealthy social-
ite John B. Snow, whose organiza-
tion has been dedicated to Hitler
first—America last. But this former distributor of "The Protocols of the Elders of Zion" and other Nazi propaganda now mails copies of "Our Foreign Policy" to his followers. Apparently Mr. Snow and the America First Committee see eye to eye on foreign policy.

The notorious Christian Front distributes not only the literature of the America First Committee. It distributes also application forms for that "anti-war" and "anti-ism" organization. The Christian Front is in itself an "ism"—it advocates a Hitler-Mussolini brand of totalitarianism for the United States. By advocating racial and religious hatred, by threatening civil strife in this country, the Christian Front stands for war. Its leaders make no secret of their admiration for Hitler and Mussolini. They stand for war—Hitler's and Mussolini's war upon the last remaining democracies of the world.

And this is the organization which recruits members for the America First Committee with the latter's claim of being against war because war is the breeder of isms!

Speech by
GENERAL ROBERT E. WOOD
Acting Chairman
America First Committee

"Our Foreign Policy"

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the undivided support

thinking in terms of
recent speech by General
rman of the America First

the great majority of the
d propaganda of all minority

urposes" by political leaders
ished governments.

ored by those elected to political

Very truly yours,

John B. Snow

Poison at Nazi Conference

The FIERY CROSS

—Official Publication of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan



— The Voice of Americanism

\$1.00 A YEAR

Pro-American

THE AMERICAN GUARD

"THE WHITE MAN'S PARTY"

AMERICANS! For more than one hundred years...

ISSUED WEEKLY BY

THE JAMES TRUE ASSOCIATES

P. O. BOX 107, BEN FRANKLIN STATION
WASHINGTON, D. C.

Report Number 531

Segregate the Jews

Awakening to Financial Monopoly Mastery, British Economic Experts Urge A
Themselves From Super-National Control of Money Power

THE VICIOUS CIRCLE

"The vicious circle of Jewish exploitation and persecution will never...
these Jews who wish or are forced to be Jews first, have an adequate...
their own. If it is wrong for Jews to exploit national interests, it is far...
responsible governments to neglect them (national interests)"—From
by Julius

The quotation in the box item above, considered in conjunction...
appearing in another part of this new book, viz. "The financier has...
and the economic

Speech by
GENERAL ROBERT E. WOOD
Acting Chairman
America First Committee

"Our Foreign Policy"

delivered before the
Council on Foreign Relations
Friday, October 4, 1940

with an introduction by
MR. CLAY JUDSON
former President
of the Council on Foreign Relations

For the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
National Headquarters
1806 Board of Trade Building
CHICAGO

A few weeks ago several of the ranking leaders in the American Nazi hierarchy met in Chicago behind closed doors to discuss a course of joint action. Their number included Donald Shea, leader of the National Gentile League; Edward James Smythe, leader of the Protestant War Veterans, who arranged the recent joint meeting of the Ku Klux Klan and the German-American Bund at Camp Nordland; Colonel E. N. Sanctuary, leader of the American Christian Defenders, formerly known as

the World Alliance Against Jewish Aggressiveness, and Olov Tietzov, leader of the admittedly fascist American Guard. For this important conference they had assembled great quantities of standard pieces of pro-Nazi, anti-British propaganda. With one exception this propaganda had been published by persons and organizations dedicated to the destruction of American democracy. That exception was the America First Committee whose literature was carefully read and later widely distributed by the Nazi leaders.

American Nazi Press Approves

10

SOCIAL JUSTICE

Must America Fight?

THE LIVES of 12-million American boys, the wealth and resources of the America we have known, are being dragged each day closer to the brink of war.

Night and day, the American people are being subjected to a barrage of propaganda to enter the holocaust now devouring the people and the civilization of Europe.

In a recent address to the students and faculty of the University of Notre Dame, the Rev. John A. O'Brien, Ph.D., said:

"The propagandists for America's involvement in the feuds and hatreds of Europe at first centered their efforts to break down the barriers we had erected to protect our neutrality. Our propaganda

ing out of American blood in Europe, Africa and Asia—and South America!

"Democracy took Britain and France authoritarianism shape enters thing to

"An iron every phase the use of all scription of the ance of democracy liberty, the iron

"Shall we learn nothing from our tragic involvement in that moment of failure to establish peace and among the nations of Europe?"

"It is of the don able arms ave ns

NATIONAL WEEKLY
Social Justice
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Founded 1936 by Father Coughlin

pen to such a see Britain win. We are admirers of the English people. We definitely prefer Britain to Hitlerism.

"But the first duty of every true American is to America. Our first duty is to build up a mighty defense for America, not to police the ever-shifting boundaries of Europe, much less Egypt or Indo-China.

"Our first duty is to clothe America with the armor of an invincible defense, not to strip her naked to man the forts of Dakar, Dover or Singapore.

"The *Defend America by Aiding Britain Committee*—in spite of all their protestations to the contrary—should better be called the '*Drag America into the War and Defend the British Empire Committee*'; or, as one American mother wrote me, the '*Mass Murder Committee*'.

"We prefer the *America First* organization to which people throughout the country are now rallying—like the Minute Men of Paul Revere.

"Unless they rally to it fast, and in overwhelming numbers, we are in danger of having America stripped of all her defenses. For it is this '*Britain First and America Last Committee*' which now seems to be shaping the nation's foreign policy.

"Unless the plain masses of the American people write to their Congressmen and their Senators and thunder in their ears a protest against this betrayal of America's defense, and their determination to stay out of Europe's inferno, their sons will find their graves by the millions in Egypt, Europe and Indo-China, and the America that

Seite 8

CATHOLIC TEACHER CONDEMNS BRITISH PROPAGANDA

Dr. O'Brien of Notre Dame Calls White's Committee a Threat to the U. S.

The Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies should be called "The Mass-Murder Committee," Dr. John A. O'Brien, of the University of Notre Dame, said as he called for a national crusade to "Defend America First" and "Arm America First."

"It's concern," said the Notre Dame graduate school apologetics professor as he addressed students and faculty in

said that this country will "commit national suicide if we repeat the mistake of 1917."

"Shall we pour out our blood and treasure to guarantee the ever shifting boundary lines in Europe and try to dictate to foreign nations the kind of government they are to have?" he asked.

isely what America will plunge into the madness

ysteria of the war spirit and, by inflaming our emotional capacity to think, let ourselves:

advance the cause of detaching it from its one tendency to

help the stricken, hungry, and by widening the conflict, by the food stuffs and in-

line and the misery now

and shorten the period of mad-

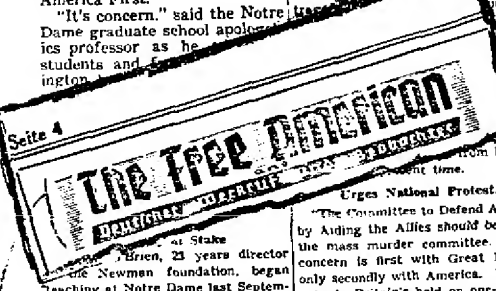
line warring leaders to the by abandoning our posi-

est moral power in the ing into the dirty business

Urges National Protest.

"The Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies should be called the mass murder committee. The concern is first with Great Britain only secondly with America. To perpetuate Britain's hold on one-fifth of

France, only hundreds could not aid Poland by so a single plane, or firing a an America, thousands of spectful to put the ever-



The Nazis in New York and Father Coughlin in Detroit unite in praising the Rev. John A. O'Brien for saying: "We prefer the America First organization."

Here is an article to that effect from *Deutscher Weckruf und Beobachter*, the official newspaper of the Nazi Bund in America with headquarters in New York. (To cover up its work the Nazi paper also calls itself *The Free American*.)

And here is another article to the same effect from *Social Justice*, published by Father Coughlin, who has in the past lifted for his writings whole paragraphs from the speeches of Dr. Goebbels, Hitler's Minister of Propaganda.

Such are the men and journals who praise the America First Committee! They are the ones who applaud those who praise the America First Committee!

BERLIN APPROVES..

On the evening of January 22nd a short-wave radio broadcast from Berlin placed the official Nazi seal of approval upon the America First Committee. According to the minions of Dr. Goebbels, this Committee represents "true Americanism and true patriotism." The radio speaker from Berlin resented the fact that the

Committee "has been given less publicity" in the United States than it deserves in Nazi eyes. Approval by the Nazi regime should cause the America First Committee to re-examine its program of Americanism. It is difficult to believe that the Nazis would approve a program truly beneficial to a democracy which they fear and detest.



Short-Wave Broadcast, Berlin, January 22, 1941

"THE AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE HAPPENS TO OPPOSE THE NEFARIOUS INFLUENCE OF THE COMMITTEE TO DEFEND AMERICA, WHICH TRAVELED FAR ON THE PRESTIGE OF THE NAME OF WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE. HE LATER, OF COURSE, LEFT TO CHOOSE HIS OWN UNSAVORY JUICE. THE AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE IS KNOWN AS TRUE AMERICANISM AND TRUE PATRIOTISM, AS OPPOSED TO THE SYNTHETIC BRAND DISPLAYED BY THOSE AMERICANS ENROLLED UNDER THE WHITE COMMITTEE. THAT COMMITTEE HAS BEEN GIVEN LESS PUBLICITY THAN THE MARRIAGE OF A MOVIE STAR WHO HAS ONLY TWO DIVORCES TO HER NAME SO FAR."

... SO DOES ROME

According to the Italian Propaganda Ministry, the "honest voices, thoughtful for the future of America," belong to the members of the "America Innanzi Tutto"—the America First Committee. And according to Virginio Gayda, Il Duce's "man Friday," the Italian Fascists have friends in America. Who are those friends, according to Virginio Gayda? They are Brigadier General Robert Wood, retired, who is acting chairman of the America First Committee; Senator Bur-

ton Wheeler of Montana, the spearhead of isolationist forces in Washington; former Governor Philip La Follette of Wisconsin; Colonel Charles A. Lindbergh. Mussolini and Gayda like them. The Fascists say so themselves. They tell the Italian people that Wood, Wheeler, La Follette, and Lindbergh are "eminent personalities" worshipped by the American people. And while telling this, they arrange anti-American demonstrations in the streets of Rome!

Dispatches from Rome

On January 7, 1941, John T. Whitaker, one of the most reliable American correspondents in Europe, cabled from Rome to the *Chicago Daily News* that the Fascist press printed a short version of President Roosevelt's speech before Congress on January 6th:

"THIS BRIEF VERSION OF THE SPEECH IS PRINTED IN SECONDARY POSITION UNDER THE FOLLOWING HEADLINE:

" 'HONEST VOICES, THOUGHTFUL FOR THE FUTURE OF AMERICA, CONTINUE TO BE RAISED AGAINST THE SPREADING BELLICISM OF ROOSEVELT.' "

"THE HONEST AND THOUGHTFUL VOICES TURN OUT TO BE THOSE OF PHILIP LA FOLLETTE AND THE 'AMERICA INNANZI TUTTO' (America First) ORGANIZATION. WHAT THEY SAY IS TREATED AS MORE IMPORTANT THAN ROOSEVELT'S 'DEMAGOGIC HYPOCRISY,' AS THE NEWSPAPERS TERM THE MESSAGE TO CONGRESS. "

And on February 6, 1941, a few weeks before Whitaker was expelled from Italy by Mussolini, he cabled this dispatch:

"AFTER DAYS OF PRESS ATTACKS AGAINST AMERICA, WHICH IS DESCRIBED AS A DICTATOR'S COUNTRY BEING LED TO WAR BY AN ALLIANCE OF THE ANGLO-SAXON ELEMENTS WITH THE JEWS, THE FASCIST UNIVERSITY STUDENTS WERE PUT INTO THE STREETS OF ROME THIS MORNING. IT WAS THE FIRST DEMONSTRATION OF THE SORT SINCE THE LATE NEVILLE CHAMBERLAIN'S UMBRELLA AND A COFFIN, LABELED FRANCE, WERE CARRIED THROUGH THE STREETS IN PREPARATION FOR ITALY'S ENTRY INTO THE WAR. . . . SOME SAID IT WAS ANTI-AMERICAN. OTHERS DENIED THAT AND SAID THAT THE STUDENTS CRIED OUT AGAINST ENGLAND. . . . "

"THE PRESS CAMPAIGN, WHICH HAS BEEN WAGED FOR SOME DAYS, DIVIDES AMERICA INTO JEWS WHICH INCLUDE, ACCORDING TO VIRGINIO GAYDA, THE WHITE HOUSE, THE PRESS AND THE RADIO, ON THE ONE HAND, AND WHAT ARE TERMED 'EMINENT PERSONALITIES,' ON THE OTHER. THIS LATTER CATEGORY IS COMPRISED OF SENATOR BURTON K. WHEELER (DEM., MONT.), COL. CHARLES A. LINDBERGH, PHILIP LA FOLLETTE, FORMER PROGRESSIVE GOVERNOR OF WISCONSIN, AND BRIG. GEN. ROBERT WOOD, RETIRED. THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE DESCRIBED AS SHARING THE VIEWS OF THESE EMINENT PERSONALITIES. "

Friends of Democracy believes members of the America First Committee should re-examine the policies of the organization in the light of the fact that it is being used as a Nazi transmission belt. We believe they should consider the implications of these facts:

1. A large part of the audiences of many America First meetings are members of pro-Nazi organizations.
2. Nazi propaganda is distributed at many of these meetings.
3. Nazi organizations not only distribute the literature of the America First Committee but recruit members and raise money for the committee.

4. The Nazi press in the United States has stamped the program of the America First Committee with its approval.

5. The propaganda ministries of the democracy-hating Nazi and Fascist governments endorse the policies of the committee.

In view of these facts, we believe the America First Committee should reorganize on a basis which does not lend itself to misuse as a Nazi transmission belt.

FRIENDS OF DEMOCRACY, INC.

L. M. Birkhead, National Director

National Headquarters:
Fidelity Building
Kansas City, Missouri

Eastern Regional Office:
103 Park Avenue
New York, N. Y.

INSTRUCTIONS COMMUNICATION

It is reported Hitler has said the U.S. would be an "Inside Job". Let us not not be blinded by contempt for him. His own mouth will be the trap to get him. The "America First" organization can serve no other purpose except as the "Inside Job". Naturally, only certain leaders (present or later ones) know of the ultimate object and they appear (or try to) more loyal Americans than the elected representatives of the people in fact some were elected. Under the pretext of saving U. S. from war and war wrongs as they will surely try to overthrow U. S. by a coup. Beware. a Friend.

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5	APR 16 1941
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE	
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Defend America! Stay Out of War!

COME TO THE MONSTER Patriotic Rally SUNDAY -- APRIL 20

at
TEMPLE HALL, ANDERSON AVE.
Port Richmond 3:00 P. M.

SPEAKERS

HON. CHARLES TOBEY

U. S. Senator of New Hampshire

HON. JAMES A. O'LEARY

U. S. Congressman—Staten Island's Own

MISS JEANNETTE RANKIN

U. S. Congresswoman—from Montana

Who Are the America First Committee?

GEN. ROBERT W. WOOD

Acting Quartermaster General, U. S. Army, 1918-19.

MRS. BENNET CHAMP CLARK

Wife of U. S. Senator Clark of Missouri.

GENERAL HUGH S. JOHNSON

Former Head of N.R.A.

MRS. BURTON M. WHEELER

Wife of U. S. Senator Wheeler of Montana.

FRANK O. LOWDEN

Former Governor of Illinois.

MRS. ALICE ROOSEVELT LONGWORTH

Daughter of Ex-President Theodore Roosevelt.

HANFORD MACNIDER

Former National Commander of the American Legion.

IRVING S. COBB

Nationally known newspaper man and author.

MISS LILLIAN GISH

Prominent Motion Picture Star.

MAJOR ALFORD J. WILLIAMS

U. S. Army Aviator and Writer.

And Hundreds of Other Patriotic Americans.

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DATE 5/6/86 BY SP6 bja/hcy

NEW YORK

April 15, 1941.

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover,
Federal Bureau of Investigation,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

Perhaps the enclosed copies of the originals may have some significance.

They appeared in yesterday's ^{4/14} Staten Island (N.Y.) Advance newspaper - the advertisement on page 5 and the news item on page 2. The revelation is that the draftee who failed to appear for induction to the Army is an alleged conscientious objector and the son of the head of the Staten Island unit of the America First Committee. Is it possible that the listed speakers at the rally are condoning slackers? If so, how can this meeting be a "patriotic rally"?

Another alarming thing about this case is that the alleged conscientious objector is in a job in which he can, no doubt, commit some kind of sabotage.

I am a member of the Grasmere Post (S.I.) of the American Legion, Post #1191 and have already discussed this case with our Post Commander.

RECORDED & INDEXED
Very truly yours,

1 ENCL. FM

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION	
4	APR 17 1941
U S DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE	

Attachments

Draftee's Case Given Attorney

The U. S. district attorney's office in Brooklyn has been informed of the refusal of Howard L. Jump of Westerleigh to report for induction into the Army and is expected to take action against him shortly, it was disclosed today.

Jump, 24-year-old tank welder at the Mariners Harbor Shipyard of the Bethlehem Steel Company, was ordered by Local Draft Board 293 to report for induction last Monday, and when he failed to appear, sent him a formal notice giving five days in which to change his mind.

James Whitford, chairman of the local board, explained that the facts in the case were reported Saturday noon to the U. S. district attorney's office. It is understood that Jump will stand trial as a delinquent before the U. S. District Court in Brooklyn.

The Islander, a conscientious objector, is the son of Mrs. Lila Jump, head of the Staten Island Unit of the America First Committee. Before being ordered to appear for induction, he was twice refused deferment by his local board, once on a medical deficiency claim and again on an occupational claim.

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May 1, 1941

RECORDED

100-1712-30

New York, New York

Dear Mr. Koch:

Receipt is acknowledged of your letter dated April 15, 1941, with enclosures, and I want to thank you for your courtesy and interest in writing to this Bureau.

Please be assured that the content of your communication and the enclosures therewith has been made a matter of official record at the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

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Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. E. A. Tamm _____
Mr. Clegg _____
Mr. Foxworth _____
Mr. Glavin _____
Mr. Ladd _____
Mr. Nichols _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Carson _____
Mr. Quinn Tamm _____
Mr. Hendon _____
Mr. Tracy _____
Miss Gandy _____

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
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